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The Shape of Things

AT LEAST THE GUNS ARE SILENT. AT LEAST THE sudden terrible thought that at this moment a son or a brother, a husband or a friend may be dying on a far Pacific island or sinking in a strange sea need no longer be faced. At least on these counts it is a happier New Year than the last or the one before the last or the one before that. But the silence of the guns only makes more audible the sad insistent sound of human suffering that rises from the continents, rings the world, and beats against the walls of that warm, safe, well-provisioned house, the U. S. A. You hear it every time you open the door of the refrigerator to take out the butter or the Grade A milk. You hear it every time you put the extra blanket on your bed or open the window that still has its quota of panes, or, as a matter of course, give a child all it wants to eat when it is hungry. And when you open the morning newspaper and look at the advertisement in which the lovely lady says, "Now you see why I just had to have mink," the sound becomes so loud that you go beserk for a moment and dream of seizing mink coats, piling a ship high with mink coats, and distributing mink coats on the first street corner in Europe. Have a Happy New Year! Perhaps you deserve it. But don't forget the million neediest cases. And before you sally forth in your Christmas finery make sure that you have taken out of your closets and dispatched to the nearest relief station all the warm clothes that you can spare; make sure that you have sent or financed as many food packages as you can afford; and don't fail to send a New Year's card to your Congressman and Senator reminding them that an appropriation for UNRRA is not just another appropriation but a gauge of the ordinary human decency, the gratitude and sympathy, of the luckiest people on earth, who escaped the worst only because other peoples bore its brunt.

*

HERBERT LEHMAN'S 1946 FORECAST OF UNRRA'S requirements outlines a program of relief which, though unparalled in history, barely meets the most elemental of human needs and alleviates only the most intolerable of human suffering. Take this paragraph from the Director General's report on Byelorussia and the Ukraine: "The enemy took virtually all the agricultural machinery away; the livestock herds were terribly depleted. All movable stocks of food and even of seeds were removed. Millions were left homeless. City after city was totally destroyed, and countless cities and villages were heavily damaged. More than 25,000,000 are without shelter save such as they can get in caves and dugouts and ruined dwellings. Whatever assistance UNRRA

will be able to provide to these brave people will be infinitesimal in proportion to the need." And so the story goes for Italy—"the utter destitution of Italy is well known and does not require recounting here"—for Austria, Finland, Korea, Formosa, China, where new programs are being set up, and for Albania, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Poland, and Yugoslavia where relief programs are well established. Reinforcing Mr. Lehman's estimates is the careful survey just completed by the National Planning Association. This survey stressed the fact that UNRRA did not reach many of the countries, either Allied or enemy, which had suffered severely during the war. It recommended that the United States make a gift of one billion dollars in food and feed over and above the UNRRA appropriations "to keep the peoples of the liberated countries of Western Europe, the United Kingdom, and the ex-enemy countries from hunger or starvation this winter." If we could forget for the moment the practices of power, the sharp bargains of the market-place, the mechanical safeguards of national integrity, we would see that a billion dollars in food was a slight enough gesture in the direction of a world community and the peace that must ultimately be based thereon.

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MACKENZIE KING OF CANADA IS THE FIRST HEAD of a great or middle power to urge the necessity of some form of world government as a means of guaranteeing security in an atomic era. It is patently absurd, said Mr. King in a speech to the Canadian Parliament, to suggest that the problems created by the bomb have a mechanistic solution. Atomic energy cannot be controlled "as if it were a new and dangerous drug." A solution must be sought in the realm of world politics and in the terrible light of the implications of the uses to which atomic energy may be put. What is clearly called for is some surrender of national sovereignty. "With a limited surrender of national sovereignty, there must be instituted some form of world government restricted, at least at the outset, to matters pertaining to the prevention of war and the maintenance of international security. . . . The United Nations Organization is not a sufficient answer to the problems of peace and security which the world is now seeking. It is the first step, and an all-important step. . . . It is not, however, the only, much less the final, step. . . ." Prime Minister King's words are all the more impressive because of his reputation as a cautious statesman with deep political wisdom and sensitive ear for the currents of popular opinion in his own country and throughout the world.

✶

THE NOMINATION OF ELEANOR ROOSEVELT AS one of our representatives in the UNO General Assembly will be widely approved in this country and throughout the world. It is good to have the name "Roosevelt" associated with this new effort to lay the foundations of peace. Apart from this consideration, Mrs. Roosevelt has earned by her own efforts the right to be a spokesman for the country. To millions of Americans she is a friend who can be relied upon to voice their deepest aspirations for a better world; to millions in other lands she is a symbol of the most generous aspects of our nation. Mrs. Roosevelt is the one independent member of the American delegation; the others were necessarily chosen *ex officio*. Secretary of State Byrnes has, quite properly, been asked to attend the inaugural session of the Assembly, and Edward R. Stettinius had already been appointed as American representative on the Security Council. Senators Connally and Vandenburg take their places as the ranking Democratic and Republican members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. There will be more criticism of the alternates named by the President. The choice of Representatives Bloom and Eaton of the House Foreign Affairs Committee can be justified both by their positions and by their record on international questions. But we regret the inclusion of John Foster Dulles, who because of his reputation as an "expert" on foreign affairs may be able to exercise a disproportionate and pernicious influence on his fellow-delegates. The last two alternates, former Postmaster General Frank Walker and former Senator John G. Townsend, are apparently being included a a reward for political services. We are glad to note that their selection was sharply challenged by Senator Fulbright of Arkansas, who pointed out that even though they may be fine upstanding citizens they have no particular qualifications for representing the United States on so important a mission.

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HOPES ARE HIGH IN CHINA AS GENERAL Marshall begins the complicated and difficult task of carrying out President Truman's admirable directive. The Kuomintang and the Communists are reported to be vying with each other in concessions designed to impress our new ambassador. At Chungking the Communist delegation to the forthcoming Political Consultative Council has gone so far as to propose an immediate truce in China's undeclared civil war. The presence in Moscow of one of the State Department's leading China experts has encouraged the idea that a Soviet-American understanding on China may result from the Big Three conference. Although the effect of our repudiation of the Hurley policy is evident in these developments, it would be wise to avoid extreme optimism. The record of previous Kuomintang-Communist conferences makes it evident that both factions will seek to drive hard bargains. The Kuomintang will be reluctant to yield any power to the Communist or democratic groups, and the Communists will not surrender their military autonomy unless wide democratic reforms are assured. The real test of American policy will come if negotiations bog down. How then will President Truman's directive be carried out? The State Department's action authorizing General Wedemeyer to assist in moving additional Kuomintang troops to Manchuria and North China suggests that intervention in behalf of the Kuomintang is still a possibility. The temptation to try to settle the issues by force will remain strong as long as our marines stay in China.

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A PREMATURE JAPANESE ELECTION WOULD UNDO many of the favorable results of our occupation policy. While Germany—defeated months earlier—is restricted to local elections, Japan is on the verge of national elections which will have a marked influence on the character and extent of its reform. Although Japanese political life, which is dis-

cussed elsewhere in this issue by Andrew Roth, has shown encouraging vigor, more time is needed to give forward-looking elements an opportunity to educate and organize the newly unshackled and greatly enlarged electorate. Reactionary politicians who have monopolized public life for two decades, retain the advantages of strong political machines and considerable finances. On the other hand, democratic and leftist groups have barely begun to reach the people. Furthermore, the elections would show a greater swing from the past if they were held after, rather than before, a series of dramatic, well-publicized trials of Japan's war criminals.

*

AMERICAN PRESTIGE ALL OVER THE COLONIAL world has been raised by the State Department's demand for negotiations between the Dutch and Indonesian leaders "in harmony with the principles and ideals" of the UNO charter. The statement was a diplomatic but unmistakable slap at Britain's anti-nationalist activities, for it also distinguished sharply between the repressive functions which the British have arrogated to themselves and the legitimate activities indorsed by the Allies—disarming and removing Japanese troops, rescuing Allied prisoners and refugees, and so on. Added support was given the statement when the Export-Import Bank held up a Dutch request for a $100,000,000 credit for the reconstruction of the East Indies. This new attitude represents a defeat for the ultra-conservative policies of Assistant Secretary of State Dunn, and a victory for the liberal director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs, John Carter Vincent. Progressive and experienced men in Vincent's division had previously made several proposals for an enlightened policy in Southeast Asia, but because the colonies are governed by European states—although geographically in the Far East—these proposals went to the Office of European Affairs. There they were promptly killed at the "French desk," the "Dutch desk," or the "British desk" by officials in tune with Mr. Dunn's desire to strengthen the Western European countries as a counter to Russia. It is certainly significant that it was John Carter Vincent and not his superior, Mr. Dunn, who accompanied Secretary of State Byrnes to Moscow.

*

ITALY'S NEW PREMIER, ALCIDE DE GASPERI, IS doing his best to look as if he were following in the footsteps of his predecessor, Ferruccio Parri. His first statement of policy, calling for revision of the armistice and an improved interim status for Italy, echoes the demands of the previous regime. The six parties of the Committee of National Liberation are represented in the new government, and all but three of the ministers held posts in the Parri Cabinet. But political tension has not abated, and Parri himself, one of the most promising leaders to emerge from the resistance movement, remains outside the Cabinet. Meanwhile, Italian liberals are alarmed by the growing popularity of the newly formed *L'Uomo Qualunque* (Everyman's Front). In the present atmosphere of misery and despair *L'Uomo Qualunque* gives the superficial impression of an exciting intellectual adventure, aggressive, witty, and ultra-modern. But it evokes uncomfortable memories of the Marinetti vogue that preceded the rise of Mussolini or of the Spanish literary movement of the late twenties that led to the creation of the Falange. Although its founders disclaim any relationship with fascism, the new "front" is imbued with the same spirit of political nihilism that has animated fascist parties everywhere. Of more immediate gravity is Parri's revelation that the Allies have refused the government's request for police arms, perhaps because the police are controlled by the Minister of the Interior, who happens to be a Socialist. As a result the only armed force in the country on election day, April 30, will be the army, which retains its reactionary leadership and swears allegiance to the House of Savoy. Despite the denials of Mr. Bevin, Anglo-American policy in Italy is still largely geared to the preservation of the monarchy.

*

THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN TO ADMIT TO THE United States displaced persons up to quota limits is humane and necessary. Even though it offers relatively small-scale relief and cannot really get under way until spring, it will enable thousands of suffering Europeans to face the winter with better heart. And it may well provide a wedge to pry open other national gateways which war and prejudice have closed. We hope the plan will not be seized upon as an argument against the admission of European Jews to Palestine. Logically it should have the contrary effect, for as long as this country maintains war-time barriers against immigration, we are in a weak position to demand relaxation of restrictions elsewhere. It would be easy to criticize the President's proposal as timid and niggardly. He could have urged that quotas unused during the war years be added to those now available. Instead, he made a point of the fact that this was not being suggested; admissions, he said, would be held strictly within the current quotas. He also emphasized that welfare organizations or relatives would be held responsible for the costs of transporting refugees and for any subsequent expenditures; in short, this act of mercy would not cost the taxpayer a penny. But if these precautions seem to damage the generous spirit of the document, they none the less conceal the wisdom of the serpent. For by holding his plan within the limits of the existing law, the President can carry it into effect through an executive order, avoiding a showdown with a Congress badly infected with anti-alien virus. At the same time his careful explanations and his assurance that "this directive will not deprive a single American soldier . . . of a berth on a vessel homeward bound . . ." should largely disarm public criticism. We are glad he included in his order provisions for accepting as residents the men and women in the relocation camp at Oswego. This news will be the best Christmas present they have had in many years.

*

THE STORY OF JOHN AMERY, WHO WAS HANGED as a traitor in London last week serves as a reminder of the appeal of fascism to the social misfit as well as to the plain thug. In the striking portrait drawn by Rebecca West in the *New Yorker* of December 15, we see him as one of the boys who never reach maturity, who remain infantile exhibitionists throughout adult life. Son of a highly respected conservative political leader, Amery grew up with what is called "every advantage." At fifteen he was already showing a mixture of

mental precocity and moral irresponsibility by dabbling in company promotion and selling "blue-sky" to innocent investors. At twenty-four the effort to cut a dash as a financial genius, coupled with a penchant for expensive living on credit, landed him in the bankruptcy court. Equally irresponsible management of shiny, fast automobiles—adolescent symbols of power—led to seventy-four convictions for motoring offenses. He left England for his country's good, a failure with a persecution complex, and characteristically settled in Spain, Franco's Spain. After the fall of France he moved to Paris to enjoy the companionship of the fascists Doriot and Déat. Another step and he was broadcasting for Goebbels and seeking to subvert British internees to serve in an anti-Bolshevik Free Corps. So he achieved a mission and a sense of importance. He had found in the amoral Nazi world freedom from frustration and fulfilment of his fantasies. The real world caught up with him again when he was captured by Italian partisans at the end of the war. He probably died feeling a martyr, and no doubt he will be numbered among the "saints and heroes" of the British fascist movement. In death as in life, neurotics of his type are all too easily exploited by megalomaniacs like Hitler and his numerous would be successors.

Truman and Labor

MR. TRUMAN'S statement last week that earnings are always relevant to a trade dispute was a welcome declaration for Walter Reuther but hardly a gift. For Reuther had already won his fight after battling against unparalleled opposition ever since V-J Day. The logic of his arguments and the support they had gained ruled out any other decision. The effect of the President's intervention, therefore, was merely to end an argument, at least before government tribunals, which General Motors and the rest of American industry were prepared to carry on for months without end.

Mr. Truman asserted, first, that "since wages are paid out of earnings, the question of earnings is relevant" to a wage dispute; second, that a fact-finding panel investigating such a dispute must therefore take into account earnings, or ability to pay; third, that in order to perform this task effectively it must have the right to examine a company's books. Any other conclusion would have been ridiculous, General Motors' vehement protestations notwithstanding. For to argue that a fact-finding board could pass on the reasonableness of a wage claim without considering profits was comparable to saying that the skipper of a lifeboat could prescribe the optimum ration of drinking water without taking account of the amount in his casks and the probable duration of the voyage. As Reuther has put it, "You can't talk about wages in an economic vacuum."

The fact that the White House ruling was a statement of the obvious does not detract from its importance. The relevancy of company earnings to wages, together with the corollary proposition that wage increases must not be rendered meaningless by concurrent and co-equal price increases, has been and still is the big issue in labor relations. That the dispute between General Motors and the Union of Automobile Workers goes far beyond the question of what wages are paid by an individual company is about the only point on which union and management agree. Thus the fact-finding panel headed by Lloyd Garrison had no option but to allow this larger issue to be debated on the first day of hearings.

The argument proved most revealing. Reuther admitted that he was fighting for an economic theory of adequate national purchasing power, for a precedent in making wage decisions on the basis of "the arithmetic of the future." On the other side of the table, as counsel for General Motors, was Walter Gordon Merritt, who almost forty years ago in the Danbury Hatters' case won the spurs he has since been gouging into the flanks of labor. He complimented Reuther on his frankness and was equally frank himself in insisting that he was fighting against a "revolutionary approach" in wage negotiations. Almost naively he pointed out that "this is not the normal collective-bargaining situation," and he protested that the union has raised a barrier to settlement by its "obsessions." C. E. Wilson, president of General Motors, facing Reuther for the first time in the four months' negotiations, pressed the same point when he said pathetically, "If you could pull this thing down to your union, Walter, and to our company, I could help in a settlement; but I can't handle it on this big issue." He was simply saying, of course, that the decision rested with big industry as a whole, which is fighting the Reuther heresy with a united front.

Clear proof of this fact was provided by the behavior of the oil-industry representatives when they faced the same question before another government fact-finding board earlier in the week. They met after one company, Sinclair, had already reached an agreement on wages with the C. I. O. oil workers' union and thereby set the pace for the rest. Knowing they were going to settle out of court—as they are now doing—the oil companies had no longer an economic interest in the fact-finding proceedings. But their hearings were on a Monday, while the General Motors panel was not due to convene until the following Thursday. Someone felt it necessary, therefore, for the oil boys to stall, to keep a foot in the door lest an unfavorable precedent on the scope of fact-finding be created before the other team took over the field. Then, when the General Motors hearings began, the oil companies told their panel that its services could be dispensed with and went home to work out settlements on the Sinclair formula.

With its plea for a blindfold decision by the fact-finders blocked by the President's declaration, General Motors is left with three choices. It can settle with the union directly, it can open its books and attempt to prove inability to pay, or it can defy the President by standing pat. The great press barrage that has opened against the thesis that profits, prices, and wages are inseparably intertwined suggests an attempt to prepare public opinion for the third course.

Typical of this outburst of propaganda is an article in the New York *Times* of December 23 which reports that business men view Mr. Truman's ruling as a "threat to capitalism." If wage rates in any industry, it is argued, are to be determined by the profit-making capacity of the most prosperous companies, then smaller and less efficient concerns will be bankrupted. We wonder whether those who employ this argument are prepared publicly to follow it to its logical conclusion—that wage levels should be established on the basis of what the least efficient unit in any industry can pay.

It is true, of course, that the U. A. W.'s settlement with General Motors will set the pace in negotiations with other employers in the industry, but it is not true that the union has made demands calculated to absorb all of that corporation's earnings and therefore, by implication, to leave less profitable companies with a loss. The union's case is that General Motors can raise wages by 30 per cent, maintain present prices, and still enjoy bumper profits. It is waiting to be shown wherein its arithmetic is wrong.

By his common-sense definition of "essential facts" in a labor dispute Mr. Truman has given important backing to the union demand for information. We have no doubt that his declaration represented a sincere belief, but it also clearly represented a political gesture. The President, in fact, appears to have realized that his request to Congress for fact-finding and cooling-off legislation has disturbed labor without bringing him any compensatory support on the right. Someone, perhaps, has been asking him, "Who do you think is going to vote for your party in 1946? And for you in 1948?" We may therefore view his wages-profits formula, his statement last week on the Fair Employment Practices Commission, and his strong veto of the appropriation bill to which Congress had attached a rider abolishing the United States Employment Service as efforts to reenlist the liberal support he has been rapidly losing.

We should be surprised, however, if the C. I. O. hastened back to the band-wagon on the strength of these moves alone. Certainly it is happy that the President has backed its arguments, and it will no doubt cooperate with any additional fact-finding boards which the Administration sets up. But it is hardly likely to revise its opinion of the proposed labor legislation. The C. I. O. has found that its partial break with Truman, designed to force him to perform instead of coasting along on nice words and New Deal memories, is getting results. It is therefore likely to operate on the theory that a cool response to the President's wooing will serve to test the ardor of the suit and, perhaps, to increase the size of the dowry.

Old Game: New Rules

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

WE AMERICANS have an incurable propensity for putting other people in our shoes rather than vice versa. It expresses itself in an enthusiastic insistence that elections be held in Bulgaria and China just the way they are supposed to be held in America; and in an impatient brush-off if a Bulgarian or a Chinese points inquiringly at certain practices in this country—in Jersey City, for example. For obviously Jersey City is our business; whereas Sofia is our business too. Perfectly simple, once you understand the premises.

Azerbaijan offers a good recent instance of this propensity. The State Department and most editorial writers seem to regard the upper lefthand corner of Iran as if it were the upper righthand corner of the United States—as if the State of Maine had suddenly declared its autonomy and threatened a union with New Brunswick. The idea of Downeasters acting that way is preposterous, and the same with the Azerbaijanis or whatever they call themselves.

Few of us, it seems, have taken the trouble to look at one of those ethnological maps printed in different colors to show the different peoples that live along that troubled border; and fewer have stopped to ask whether there may not be a genuine impulse among the Iranian Azerbaijanis to draw closer to their brothers in the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan; whether the Armenians in that province may not have a similar urge toward the Armenians in Russia and Turkey; and whether the Kurds, those passionate nationalists without a nation, are not perhaps eager for any old change, on the theory that it is bound to be for the better. Few look at the map or ask any questions. We know a plot when we smell one. We send a note of protest, and then march off to Moscow to fix things up.

We don't even look at the history books. We forget the long struggle between Britain and Russia—a struggle that has nothing on earth to do with communism or freedom or self-determination, but everything with oil and warm-water harbors and the road to India. An old struggle and never an idealistic one. John Galsworthy devoted some lines of rather formal passion to it many years ago in a poem called "Persia —Moritura" addressed to his own country.

> Home of the free! Protector of the weak!
> Shall We and this Great Gray Ally make sand
> Of all a nation's budding green, and wreak
> Our winter will on that unhappy land?
> Is all our steel of soul dissolved and flown?
> Have fumes of fear incased our heart of flame?
> Are we with panic so deep-rotted down
> In self, that we can feel no longer shame
> To league, and steal a nation's hope of youth?
> Oh! Sirs! Is our Star merely cynical?
> Is God reduced? That we must darken truth,
> And break our honor with this creeping fall?
>
> Is Freedom but a word—a flaring boast,
> Is Self-Concern horizon's utter sum?
> If so—today let England die, and ghost
> Through all her godless history to come! . . .

There is more, but those lines are enough to remind us that the game of power politics in the Middle East whose intricacies are so well set forth by Mr. Morrell in this issue, did not begin with Messrs. Churchill and Stalin. From Napoleon on down, British and Russian interests have plotted for advantage in Persia, competing for the control of purchasable Shahs, playing the game of court favorites and political cliques; Iran has never been a country where the people's voice was noticed or often raised. Now the rules of the old game have been shoved aside by Soviet diplomacy, in Iran as throughout the Near and Middle East, and it is inevitable that Britain, and America too, should be annoyed. For Russia is using popular discontent as well as ruling-class cupidity. In the British-controlled part of Iran, by far the larger part, nothing at all has been done to oust the old functionaries who served Hitler before they were bought by Britain; the people are as miserable as before, the politicians as corrupt and reactionary. Russia has encouraged the variously named left party, in and out of its sector, and has offered the people hope of reforms and a decent life. The discontent, the nationalist emotions were not made in Moscow. They were made

in Iran by greedy rulers and greedy economic imperialists. Moscow needs only to use what it finds.

It is safe to be cynical. Russia wants both oil and ports. Russia will use any means it finds effective to get them. Russia wants to be sure of a friendly government in this next-door country. But one of the complexities so often overlooked is the interweaving in Soviet diplomacy of tough self-interest and honest support of reforms that mean more to a people robbed of the primitive decencies of life than even the best American-style election. Russia, as a Socialist state, can afford to arouse the people against both their rulers and their rulers' rulers.

We Americans are romantic egotists: carriers of a democracy created in our own image; of a diplomacy built for the protection of powerful private interests; of a dream fantastically compounded of mass-produced mechanisms and delusions of superiority. Secretary Byrnes, a guest in Moscow, at his first press conference refused to receive any except Anglo-American correspondents. No Czechs, no Yugoslavs, no Chinese, no French, no Poles. Why? Perhaps they didn't speak American, and Mr. Byrnes preferred not to be bothered with all those outlandish languages. Perhaps—but let's not try to think up reasons. There could be no acceptable reason for a gesture so offensive, so uncivil, so lacking in diplomatic perception. Last Sunday the New York *Times* printed one of those solemn articles on the "enigma of the Russian mind." One trouble with Russia's top leaders, it says, is that they don't get around; not one of them has traveled extensively abroad or knows the Western world well. Naturally they are awkward at international conferences. Of course it is different with us. Mr. Truman was a captain in the field artillery in France in World War I, and Mr. Byrnes—well, Mr. Byrnes went to Yalta last winter with President Roosevelt. The Russians are noted for their courtesy to guests. Undoubtedly they will wait until Mr. Byrnes has left before they print an article on the enigma of the American mind.

Middle Eastern Tories

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, December 20

I HAD the good fortune in Cairo to obtain a copy of a confidential study of British policy in the Middle East. The document in my possession is a collection of three papers "by a study group of the Cairo group of Chatham House." Chatham House, at 10 St. James's Square, London, is the headquarters of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. The institute is the equivalent, in a sense, of our American Foreign Policy Association, but is far more authoritative. Its personnel and pay roll during the war interlocked closely with the Foreign Office, the Colonial Office, and the Ministry of Economic Warfare. The Royal Institute reflects the informed, conservative, imperial point of view, and it speaks for the experienced and thoughtful elements among the permanent bureaucracy of the Foreign and Colonial offices. The Cairo group of Chatham House, which prepared this study, includes many of Britain's leading colonial and diplomatic officials in the Middle East, and I am told that the head of the Cairo group is or was Sir Walter Smart, the veteran Oriental counselor of the British embassy in Egypt.

The study made by the Cairo group is called "The Interests of the Commonwealth in the Middle East," the commonwealth, in this case, being a euphemism for the empire. It is dated February of last year, and the typescript bears the name of the institute as publisher. The American members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine could do worse than obtain copies of this document for their own use. Its 25,000 words provide a comprehensive bird's-eye view of the Middle East and the best available candid exposition of what the men in actual charge of Britain's relations there are thinking. What these men—diplomats, intelligence officers, soldiers, experts, and colonial officials—are thinking does not necessarily determine what the new Labor government will do, but one can hardly deny the immense influence they have on top-level decisions and hesitations in London. Nor does it take more than a glance around the world, from Greece to Java, to see that the Labor government is maintaining a continuity in foreign, imperial, and colonial policy which these permanent officials must find very gratifying. The Cairo study, to my mind, reveals the real undercurrents of British policy in the Middle East far better than the elaborate balancings of Mr. Bevin's statement on Palestine or the appalling incomprehension and vulgarity with which he admonished the survivors of Belsen not to try to get to the head of the queue.

The Middle East is described, quite correctly, in this Chatham House study as "a social and economic slum" in which "the greater part of the cultivable land is owned by large landowners." "Almost everywhere" in this area "the peasants are heavily in debt to moneylenders." The only country districts "with a free, enlightened, and comparatively prosperous peasantry are to be found in Lebanon and among the Jewish settlements in Palestine." Everywhere else "the peasants are still ignorant, diseased, and unchanging." I would say, from my own observations, that this is unfair to many of the Arab villages in Palestine; perhaps complete fairness would have involved an unwelcome admission of the benefits Jewish immigration has brought to the Arab. Britain's long-standing interests in this ancient slum are described as having "always been largely negative"—which may help to explain why it remains a slum. Britain's major concern was seeing that the Middle East did not fall into hands "strong enough to employ its strategic advantages as a means of crippling Britain's world position." This major concern was long served quite simply by "a policy of supporting the weak Ottoman Empire, of 'bolstering up the Turk.' " The "negative interest" dictated the keeping of a weak, corrupt, and inefficient power in charge of the slum. British imperialists did

not then and do not now want to see a Middle East strong and progressive enough to stand on its own feet athwart the route to India.

The Chatham House document is strongly anti-Zionist. In discussing Britain's experience in the Middle East during the war, it glosses over the treachery and difficulty encountered in Iraq, Egypt, and elsewhere and says not one word about the great contribution made to the British war effort by Palestinian Jewish soldiers, the skilled Jewish workers of the naval base at Haifa, and the Jewish underground in Vichy Syria and Axis Europe. Britain's obligations to the Jews under the mandate are slurred over, and the White Paper is put forward as the only possible compromise for the Arab-Jewish political controversy in Palestine. "The White Paper," the study says ingenuously, "demands sacrifices from both sides: the Arabs must recognize the position of the half-million Jews already in the country; the Jews must be satisfied with what they have and look elsewhere for a solution of the problem of European Jewry." No compromise solution along bi-national or similar lines is envisaged in this report; it would have British official opinion believe that the choice is between complete stoppage of Jewish immigration and the establishment of a Jewish state. The Chatham House Middle Eastern experts seem to share Bevin's hope that the Jewish problem can somehow be solved in Central and Eastern Europe without opening the doors of Palestine. "There seems good reason to believe," the study says optimistically, "that the consequences of a restoration of reasonable conditions in other parts of the world would be a substantial re-immigration of Jews from Palestine." One can just see the Polish Jews streaming back.

The Chatham House report is anti-Zionist but hardly pro-Arab, except on the one narrow issue of a Jewish homeland. Characteristically, the report indicates a wistful belief that if the White Paper is carried out and Jewish immigration and Jewish land purchases in Palestine are shut off, the Arabs there would be willing to accept "a postponement or at least a very gradual fulfilment" of the White Paper's further promise of a self-governing independent state in Palestine. The Cairo experts of Chatham House are full of pious observations on the failure of the French to comport themselves in Syria and the Lebanon in accordance with the Atlantic Charter. They are pro-Arab as against the French and pro-Arab as against the Jews, but they are decidedly pro-empire and anti-Arab as against Arab aspirations in British-controlled areas. The experts envisage the building of an Arab bloc at the expense of the French and the Jews but hardly at the expense of British interests. They favor Arab unity, but under British control. They say that Britain "must be in a position to make unfettered military use of the Arab countries during a war, and to deny such use to her enemies or those who might become her enemies." They say that Britain must have the right "to use the harbors and aerodromes of the Arab countries" and to control the main lines of communication across them, including the oil pipe-lines. "Neither her military nor her economic position can be assured," the Cairo experts say, "unless the Arab countries, or at least those of them in which her main interests lie, are subject to stable governments which are either themselves under British control or are friendly and willing to conform their policy to hers in matters of concern." Few Arab nationalists would regard that as a "pro-Arab" position.

The Chatham House experts do not contend that Britain "should, even if she could, try to make the Arab world as much her exclusive concern as, for example, India." They say that neither the Arabs nor the other great powers would permit that. Furthermore, "it would be too great a strain on British resources." They propose a system of bases in the Arab countries under a kind of international trusteeship. "This does not mean," the experts hasten to add, "that the actual occupation should be carried out by a group of powers; such mixed enterprises are not likely to be successful. What it means is that Great Britain should act as trustee on behalf, for example, of a Middle Eastern Commission, which itself would be responsible to the all-embracing international authority." Thus international authority would be used to ease that strain on British resources. The new United Nations Organization would come in handy in another way. The new Arab states in this scheme would be guaranteed "equality" rather than "independence." "If all nations give up something of their sovereignty to an international authority," the Cairo experts explain, "the Arabs will no longer claim that their sovereignty should be unrestricted." Thus imperialism would take on the trappings of internationalism.

In this grandiose plan for British control of the Middle East the Jews and the French also have a place—as burnt offerings to Arab nationalism. The Chatham House experts say the policy they have outlined "would probably be indorsed by most reputable British officials [are there any other kind?] in the Middle East." It would also "be accepted by the wiser and more intelligent of the Arab leaders." Unfortunately, "there are other leaders, and with them a large proportion of the rank and file, who have been so embittered by British policy in the last twenty-five years that they are no longer willing to cooperate with Great Britain." Britain must help the moderates to gain ascendancy, but this can only be done if "certain immediate issues are settled satisfactorily." And what are these? "The two most vital, obviously, are those of Palestine and of Syria and Lebanon." The Palestine solution, as we have already seen, is to stop Jewish immigration and land purchase. In Syria and Lebanon it is to persuade the French not to "insist on being given a position similar to that of Great Britain in Iraq." This is as frank as it is funny. Elsewhere in this study we are told that the Anglo-Egyptian and Anglo-Iraqian treaty relationship "is now the official model for British dealings with the Arabs," and similar treaties are proposed with the other Arab states. What makes the Cairo experts think British restrictions on Arab independence would be any less palatable than French? Is the anti-British feeling in Egypt any weaker than the anti-French feeling in Syria?

Politically, this program makes no sense. One does not need many days in Egypt to discover that the Anglo-Egyptian treaty relationship is hardly a fit model for British relations with the Arab states. The Arabs want some kind of federation and they want independence. A new "Ottoman Empire" with the effendis, pashas, kinglets, and sheiks as the tools of the British will not satisfy them. The "moderates" on whom the Cairo experts rely are not genuine moderates. They are political potentates and landowners who are more fearful of

popular unrest in their own countries than of the British. They want to see British supervision continued, to protect them and their privileges against popular demand for reform and change. They share British imperial phobias about the Soviet Union, and they are considerably less progressive even than the right wing of the British Colonial Office. Men of Sir Walter Smart's type are well aware of the social conflicts brewing in the Middle East, and see the need for some measure of reform. But reform is reform at the expense of the big landowner. "If we begin to press the effendis for reform," one British official said, "they'll ask, 'What's the difference, then, between you and the Bolsheviks?'" You cannot make an alliance with the most reactionary elements of the Arab world and expect social reform—or stability.

Britain has no right to rule the Arab world. But it does have a legitimate interest in communications and oil. That interest will best be preserved by an international solution of the Palestine problem. A growing Jewish community there will continue to dissolve feudal Arab relationships, to raise living standards, and to make reform inevitable. If Arab fears are stilled by insistence on a bi-national Palestine instead of a Jewish state, if Arab aspirations are satisfied by the inclusion of a bi-national Palestine in an Arab federation, if Arab and Jew are helped by a United Nations program for land, water, and power development in the Middle East, the "slum" can be reclaimed, the old sore point of world politics healed, the Jews given a home, the Arabs given a break. This way, and not in disingenuous power politics, nineteenth-century style, lie peace and stability for the Middle East.

Trouble Ahead for Veterans

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

(Chairman of the American Veterans' Committee and author of "The New Veteran")

A FEW WEEKS ago I found myself, in company with some five hundred other citizens, being hauled by the Long Island Railway at an unwontedly early hour to Mitchel Field, where the army air forces held an all-day conference on the reintegration of the veteran with the community. The air forces put on a wonderful show, as they always do: much brass, majors distributing programs, excellent food (one meal in the enlisted men's mess to let us civilians taste "G. I. food served in the G. I. fashion," as the program had it), a Lowell Thomas broadcast direct from one of the forum halls, a protracted refreshment period between the afternoon and evening sessions so that all the guests might revive their flagging spirits. But not the spirits, nor the message from President Truman, nor the four-star generals reading their carefully written scripts, nor the evident good-will and earnestness and high purpose of all concerned could conceal the fact that the conference should have been held two years ago.

It would have been a pretty good conference even one year ago. In December, 1945, with the armed forces half demobilized and slated to be almost entirely demobilized in another six months, it was not very useful. It advanced many excellent suggestions too late for them to be put into effect in most communities. And despite its good intentions, it did not put into the hands of those who listened—social workers, business and labor leaders, representatives of community groups, veterans' organizations, and the like—the specific tools for the job that needs to be done in the home towns. This is a serious matter, for present national arrangements for dealing with "the human side of demobilization" are so inadequate that the home towns have got to do the job. The responsibility of the communities is even larger than workers in this field had originally expected, as was pointed out at the conference by General Omar Bradley, chief of the Veterans' Administration:

> Washington alone can no more reestablish the veteran than Washington alone could win the war. While we can assist with benefits and offer guidance, it is the community that must do the grass-roots work.
>
> For it is in the community, in his daily association with his neighbors, that the veteran rubs shoulders with so many of the troublesome problems Washington cannot hope to solve. . . . The job is too big for the government or any federal agency. It's too big for any single organization within the framework of the community. It will be solved only when we pool the efforts of the federal government, the states, and the resources of all localities.

It is perhaps an index of how badly off we are that the statement of such an obvious truth can be the keynote of a national conference and can still make news. Moreover, although nearly every speaker talked about coordinating federal, state, and local programs, and about the need for community service centers, none explained how the programs were actually to be coordinated on the various levels, and only one described a service center in operation.

There are not many communities these days which can muster enough imagination, resourcefulness, and good-will to meet the requirements of an effective counseling and referral center for veterans. Several outstanding centers are in operation—New York, Los Angeles, Bridgeport, Flint come readily to mind. Altogether there are about 1,500 centers, in the 23,000 communities in the United States, and they range from very good to very bad. It is apparent that the federal government must fill in, counsel, provide funds, collate pertinent information, suggest procedures, and institute training programs for personnel. At this stage, if the communities have not acted, the government must act.

I say this, believing it to be true; but I cannot think that it will be done. It is not useful to counsel despair, but I think we must anticipate a real breakdown in government

services to veterans and, indeed, in the whole rehabilitation picture. General Bradley told me at Mitchel Field that there were 300,000 unopened letters in the mail room of the Veterans' Administration when he left Washington the day before. He added that he was now getting to work on the job that should have been done a year earlier. The VA is short-handed in every category, especially in doctors and in claims adjudicators. Its low scale of pay makes it difficult to recruit personnel. It is so highly centralized that red tape accumulates upon itself in Washington; but office space is almost impossible to find outside, and further time would be consumed in moving. The VA was simply not ready for the end of the war, any more than it was ready for the whole fantastic expansion of its activities which should have been anticipated when 12,000,000 of the nation's young men registered for the draft. Some of the criticism of the VA which led to the replacing of General Hines by General Bradley was pooh-pooed at the time as exaggerated. It is now revealed to have been an understatement.

General Bradley is doing what he can, and is surrounding himself with some able administrators; the medical program of the VA seems slated to improve considerably; more flexibility in the labor market may ease the personnel shortage. But no sudden or radical improvement can be expected.

The other government agency engaged chiefly with veterans' problems is the Retraining and Reemployment Administration, which has had a checkered career since its creation was called for in the Baruch-Hancock report on the human aspects of demobilization nearly two years ago. After a slumbrous period under General Hines the agency began to function vigorously a few months ago when it was put in the care of Major General Graves B. Erskine, a tough and intelligent marine with a combat record in the Pacific, who showed his understanding of life in the twentieth century when he said at the conference that we must realize how our own jobs depended on "the tremendous fact" of jobs for all.

The RRA's particular job is to coordinate the rehabilitation, retraining, and reemployment of war veterans and war workers in the nation, the state, and the local community. One of its responsibilities is the setting up of community service centers. It is a real omnibus agency, with a grandly vaporous directive, an enormous field in which to operate, and apparently a tremendous opportunity for useful work. General Erskine started his job in the fall. He now has the imposing total of fifteen executives to carry out this vast program, practically no money, and as yet no clearly established authority to do the things expected of him.

That is why there were 300,000 unopened letters in the Washington mail room of the Veterans' Administration three weeks ago. That is why many veterans snort contemptuously when they hear glowing descriptions of how their country has prepared to receive them home again.

There is plenty of dynamite in this fast-developing situation. It isn't ready to go off quite yet. But in another six months listen for a succession of explosions, starting in the grass roots, running toward Washington, and getting louder all the time. The loudest explosion may not hit Washington until the fall of '48.

In the Wind

OLD CHINA HANDS, Hurley-era vintage, will be interested in an excerpt from the mimeographed newssheet published aboard a transport carrying occupation troops to Korea last fall. The item says MG officers en route were briefed for their forthcoming job with the statement: "One of the principal missions of military government in Korea will be to form a bulwark against communism." The briefing officer, the paper says, was "quoting from material gained at the recent conference in Tokyo with General Crist."

THERE'S A MAN IN CHICAGO, a miniature collector named Joseph H. Gray, with a fine sense of literary perspective. He is reported to own a twelve-volume set of Edgar Guest's poetry—and each volume is three-quarters of an inch tall.

THE ANCIENT CHINESE had a proverb which was invoked by New Mexico's Senator Hatch in urging strong international cooperation to meet the challenge of the atomic bomb: "What is the use of having a thousand-league horse if you do not have a thousand-league man to ride him?"

WE WERE FLATTERED to discover that Clare Boothe Luce had read into the *Congressional Record* for November 29 *The Nation's* recent article on veterans' housing by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.; so flattered that we will pretend not to notice that the heading on the entry was "The Luce Bill on Veterans' Housing."

WE'VE BEEN WONDERING about this and are sure you'll be as relieved as we were to have the matter cleared up: a G. I. in the Far East occupation troops reports authoritatively that Thanksgiving, under MacArthur, was celebrated in pre-New Deal style on November 29.

JOURNALISM NOTE: the Virginia Press Association is working on a plan for inviting newspapermen from the various United Nations to take temporary staff positions on Virginia papers as a means toward "more detailed understanding of American everyday life."

GRIM-VISAGED WAR, all unbeknown to us, has been haunting the austere halls of the Macmillan publishing company. A recent ad of theirs broods: "Nobody knows the trouble we've seen. . . . The grim story of paper shortage and manufacturing difficulties . . . keeps us awake nights. . . . We'll simply say this: your bookseller now has copies of 'Forever Amber.' "

FLORIDA'S GOVERNOR CALDWELL, according to an A.P. dispatch, refused to take action against Sheriff Lonnie Davis, of Madison, in connection with a lynching "because stupidity and ineptitude are not grounds for removal."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay $1 for each item accepted.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

If I Had Been Forrestal

BY THOMAS J. HAMILTON

(Member of the Washington bureau of the New York Times *and author of "Appeasement's Child: The Franco Regime in Spain")*

Washington, December 20

THE President has spoken at last, and, at least in theory, the greatest debate since the Founding Fathers ratified the Constitution, certainly since the Hopkins-Ickes dispute of 1934-35, is stilled. It was the Commander-in-Chief who spoke, and hereafter mere generals and admirals will hold their tongues. The army and the navy and the army air forces must be united, unified, merged in one Department of National Defense. No more recriminations, no more uncertainties—for the man from Missouri has been shown. And James Forrestal thinks it is time to up anchor and head northward. He and the navy got short shrift from the unification message. Forrestal remained discreetly silent, but Carl Vinson, who as much as any man (except Roosevelt) has ruled the navy these dozen years and more, growled back that it smacked of Germany under the Kaiser or Hitler, that it was military power politics, that unification would "sink the navy." If anybody keeps the navy afloat from now on, it will be Vinson—and I think he will do it.

Nevertheless, there is no question that the navy has lost not merely the opening skirmish but a major battle. For this the blame must rest primarily on Forrestal. Mr. Truman very probably would have backed the army no matter what was said or done by the navy. But the fact remains that the navy's handling of the case was inept. I do not suppose that Forrestal can be blamed for the poor performance of Admiral Nimitz before the Senate Military Affairs Committee; the Admiral cannot pretend to the fine showmanship which comes so naturally to Eisenhower. Still, less than a year ago at Pearl Harbor Nimitz had told the visiting Senators he was for unification, and a lot of people, quite unjustifiably, claimed that the Admiral reversed himself because the navy did not intend to reward unorthodoxy with appointment to the key post of Chief of Naval Operations. General Geiger of the marines tried to make friends and influence Senators by lambasting the army air corps (which has a lot of friends in the country, General, even if it doesn't fly like it says in the marines' flying book). But it was Forrestal himself who made the politically suicidal statement that the debate over unification ought to be carried on before a "higher forum." (His friends insist he meant to say "on a higher plane," but Senators, who are as one on questions of their dignity, don't forget slips of the pen like that.) And all the navy spokesmen kept saying that the navy won the war and that the unification plan would wreck the navy, never taking into account that Senators—and plain citizens—don't care what happens to the navy *qua* navy but are intensely interested in seeing that we have the most efficient defense possible.

In the last few weeks things had improved somewhat, thanks to the fact that a trio of very intelligent rear admirals —H. B. Miller, the navy's public-relations officer, Arthur Radford, and Forrest Sherman—had taken over the navy's publicity. Many features of the navy's security plan, which was prepared by Forrestal's close friend, Ferdinand Eberstadt, were worthy of study, even though the plan itself was obviously too unwieldy. But the improvement in tactics came too late, and Truman's message was for the plan, the whole plan, and nothing but the plan as perfected by General Marshall.

It would have been very simple for Forrestal to have opened his testimony with a tribute to the work of the army and the army air forces. After all, they did a job. Perhaps naval aviation was the greatest single factor in the Pacific (I think it was), but certainly the achievements of the army and the army air forces in North Africa and Europe were worth mentioning. A tribute to the men in khaki would have made possible an equally deserved and more graceful tribute to the achievements of navy and marines, and army, in the Pacific; would have created the atmosphere for recounting the achievements of the entire United States. We went a long way after Pearl Harbor, and Forrestal would have been justified in saying so. He would have been justified also in asking what was so bad about the system that won the war.

The United States still likes to imagine that fighting machinery comes cheap, and Eisenhower, Marshall, and Somervell were at their most effective when they claimed that unification would save us money. The navy offered no effective rebuttal, although it had ample material. After all, army and navy did get together before the war and standardize vehicles, small arms, and many other pieces of equipment; they did have a joint Munitions Board. These measures were not enough, but they were a start. And in February, 1945, army and navy made a tentative agreement to set up a Director of Matériel, with Joint Matériel Chiefs, who would exert much the same authority over procurement that the Joint Chiefs of Staff did over strategy—it was not the navy but Somervell that revealed this.

As for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, army and navy officers know the increasingly close control they came to exert over tactics as well as strategy in the closing stages of the war. When they sent a task force to bomb Japan they specified not merely the targets but the weight and type and fusing of the bombs used. They also had a lot to say about the training and equipment of the forces sent to the Pacific. If the Chief of Staff of the united armed forces is not to be ubiquitous and omniscient, he will have to depend upon a staff almost exactly like the Joint Chiefs. It is hard to see, in fact, what a unified Department of National Defense can accomplish that would not be accomplished equally well by creating something like the Joint Matériel Chiefs and establishing the Joint Chiefs of Staff on a permanent basis. With unity of command in the operating theaters now accepted practice—though honored more in the breach than the observance in the divided

Pacific empires of Nimitz and MacArthur—these changes would give us unity where it counts, in the field and in the war room in Washington, while retaining the benefits of competition and flexibility in the training and deployment of soldiers, sailors, and marines.

Mr. Forrestal and his admirals did emphasize the benefits of competition, but the effect of their testimony was lessened by the fact that they seemed to be thinking first about the navy, second about the United States. None the less, it was fortunate for the United States that the naval and marine-corps aviators concentrated on dive-bombing and close support of troops in the field, while the army air forces went ahead with their high-level bombing. Both, as it turned out, were needed. If there had been a single Chief of Staff he might well have chosen one type of bombing and allowed the other to be neglected. There will be similar decisions to make in the future, and Mr. Forrestal might have pointed out that true economy means giving the United States the best possible chance to survive.

He might also have pointed out that the well-known cumbersomeness of army and navy today would be far greater under a unified command, with a common procurement service, medical corps, and the like. Watching the army machine work in France or the navy machine work at Pearl Harbor, I used to wonder how anything ever was accomplished under the flood of paper. With unification, it would be much worse. It is all very well for Mr. Truman to say that hereafter there must be a single commanding officer, with full responsibility for the defense of his base. At the small auxiliary naval air station where my squadron trained in California there were three commanding officers—one for the air station itself, one for the air group training there, and one for the "Casu" (Carrier Aircraft Service Unit), which took care of the planes and fed the pilots. Space doesn't permit me to go into the reasons for this, but they were good ones. Mr. Forrestal might have used similar illustrations, even though they came from echelons far removed from the Navy Department.

Well, Mr. Truman proposes but Congress disposes; and I don't think the navy need yet put on a mourning tie. Senator Walsh of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee is ready to fight a delaying action after the Senate Military Affairs Committee ratifies the President's message. In the House, unification will have a really tough time, thanks to Vinson. He and Chairman May of the House Military Affairs Committee already have jointly introduced a bill to take the army air forces away from the War Department and establish a Department of Air Forces. This apple of discord will disrupt the unification forces, or else a veteran Georgia Congressman is way off in his calculations. But the row is not doing the navy any good or the country; it is diverting energies that are sadly needed to cope with the problem of the atomic bomb.

Japan's Political Ferment

BY ANDREW ROTH

(Author of "Dilemma in Japan")

JAPAN'S political pot is boiling furiously. Millions of its citizens—from the hungry inhabitants of burnt-out slums to the well-fed and sumptuously housed—are looking forward to the approaching national elections, which will be the broadest and most nearly democratic in its history.

The results of the elections will determine the character and the rate of Japan's reforms. The retiring Diet—chosen in Tojo's heyday, the spring of 1942—has deliberately delayed the execution of reforms ordered by the occupation command. The new Diet is certain to be more cooperative and may possibly speed Japan's democratization by going beyond the goals set for it by General MacArthur.

All groups are eagerly awaiting the results, for this election is part of a striking change in the character of political activity. Before the defeat, power was tightly held by an oligarchy of militarists, economic monopolists, court aristocrats, top bureaucrats, and large landowners. This oligarchy made the decisions; the Diet served as a mere sounding board. But its grip has been loosened by defeat. Its leading members have been labeled war criminals. Occupation directives make it impossible for this small group to monopolize the air waves and press or to terrorize its opponents any longer.

Under the popular pressure that has been unleashed and the prodding of the occupation authorities, political activity is moving from the secret council rooms of the few into the open forum. Industrialists and workers, landlords and tenants, men and women—all realize that their future role in their country's affairs is dependent upon their ability to secure representation in the future Diet. From all this new political activity a number of minor parties have arisen, such as the picturesquely named Party of Long-Nosed Goblins *(Tenguto)*, organized by a handful of medieval-minded rightist fanatics; but the great majority of the people are likely to vote for one of the four major national parties—the Progressive *(Shimpoto)*, Liberal *(Jiyuto)*, Socialist *(Shakaito)*, and Communist *(Kyosanto)* parties.

REGRESSIVE PROGRESSIVES

The Progressive Party—despite its name—is composed mainly of unrepentent, ultra-conservative professional politicians. Among its adherents are some 300 of the 466 members of the outgoing Diet, virtually all of them former admirers of Tojo who were elected in 1942 with the strong-arm support of the totalitarian Imperial Rule Assistance Association. The party is closely linked to unregenerate imperialists, semi-feudal landlords, freebooting industrialists, and authoritarian bureaucrats.

Under the skilful leadership of Tsuneo Kanamitsu and Yusuke Tsurumi the Progressives have been busy donning the cloak of political respectability. Kanamitsu is a hard-bitten

machine politician with twenty-five years in the Diet behind him. He is widely considered the strongest political figure in the outgoing Diet, having been the leader of the Greater Japan Political Association *(Dai Nippon Seijikai)*, the totalitarian "sure-victory "group set up early in 1945. The brilliant and ambitious Tsurumi, once a familiar figure on American lecture platforms, is a renegade democrat, adept at constructing liberal façades to hide the ugliness of reaction. The party has made deliberate effort to exclude the most blatant fascists and keep others in the background. One of its very skilful bits of camouflage has been to secure as parliamentary spokesman the venerable Takao Taito, one of the few Diet members with a consistent anti-militarist record.

Its program is studded with glittering generalities masking its devotion to the status quo. The only specific points unmistakably set forth in its platform are its bitter antagonism toward communism and its "absolute and unqualified defense" of the emperor system. Although the program is silent on the subject, the party revealed its opposition to land reform by resisting in the outgoing Diet the passage of even the Shidehara government's inadequate proposals.

The onus of the past is bound to lose the Progressive Party many votes, despite the fact that most of its candidates have elaborate political machines under their control. The war-criminals list now contains a score of its leaders, including Masataka Ota, chairman of its Political Affairs Committee.

CONSERVATIVE LIBERALS

The Liberal Party is likely to profit by the sagging of the Progressives' political fortunes, and confidently expects to add 100 seats to the 50 it has in the outgoing Diet. Its candidates find little difficulty in obtaining financial support, for it is preeminently the party of the giant monopolistic combines and has close connections at court. It stands for "benevolent capitalism," a balanced budget, free trade. Its leaders favor the conversion of the Emperor into a British-style constitutional monarch but insist that he be retained as a bulwark against communism.

Ichiro Hatoyama, an unscrupulous machine politician who has served thirty-one years in the Diet and two terms as Minister of Education, and a self-proclaimed friend of ex-Ambassador Grew, is the organizing brains behind the Liberals. An astute politician, he is making a clever play for the votes of women—who will vote for the first time—by advocating equal educational facilities and the right to hold public office. He attempted but failed to secure as parliamentary spokesman the dean of Japanese democrats—deaf, eighty-eight-year-old Yukio Ozaki.

Three key men in the Shidehara Cabinet have been tagged as Liberal Party stalwarts—the brain truster (Chief Cabinet Secretary), Daizaburo Tsugita; the legislative chief (Director of the Cabinet Bureau of Legislation), Wataru Narahashi; and the Foreign Minister, Shigeru Yoshida. Yoshida is an important possibility for Prime Minister in the event of an impressive Liberal victory. He is a career diplomat, the son-in-law of the famous Viscount Makino—former Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and principal link between big business and the court, who was a close friend of ex-Ambassador Grew. Yoshida was arrested in June, 1945, for plotting secret peace negotiations through British channels but was released in August and appointed Foreign Minister by Prince Higashi-kuni as one likely to be favorably regarded in British and American circles. Yoshida feels that the constitution, which has strait-jacketed Japanese political life for the past fifty years, requires only "minor adjustments."

MODERATE SOCIALISTS

The Socialist vote is likely to skyrocket as a result of popular dissatisfaction. Although the party commands only 15 seats in the retiring Diet it may capture as many as 100 in the new, partly because of the reputation of its leaders. Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa, generally rated the greatest living Oriental exponent of Christianity, was once a militant, left-wing Socialist but during the war used Christian phrases to cover support of Japanese aggression. After the war he was indorsed by former Premier Higashi-kuni as suitable to lead Japan's "moral regeneration." Kanju Kato, who was twice elected to the Diet by Tokyo workers and twice jailed by the police for anti-war activity, was formerly head of the Proletarian Party *(Musanto)* and the left-wing trade-union organization *(Rodo Kumiai)*. The former Baroness Shizue Ishimoto (now Mrs. Kanju Kato), well known as a charming and courageous exponent of feminine rights and planned parenthood, was the first woman to announce her candidacy for the Diet and is expected to attract considerable feminine support to the Socialist ticket. The party embraces virtually all labor leaders except the outright Communists and has a considerable following among intellectuals. In early December two Tokyo universities gave it first place in a test poll.

In fact, although its program calls for democratic socialism, its adherents range from near-conservatives to near-Communists. Its chief spokesman, Chozaburo Mitzutani, is a turncoat who so trimmed his sails to the prevailing military-fascist winds that he was able to be elected in 1942 without exciting the opposition of the dominant Tojo forces. On the other hand, Seido Takatsu, who was imprisoned four times and tortured for his opposition to fascism and war, is a member. This wide range of attitudes within the party has caused sharp conflicts over such controversial subjects as the future of the emperor institution. The Christian Socialist Dr. Kagawa has stated that "the Japanese monarchy and democracy are not irreconcilable." The left-wingers feel that Hirohito should bear some of the war guilt and that the future of the system should be decided by a plebiscite. The party is on record as supporting the emperor system as part of the government in the present stage, and Mizutani has hopefully suggested that Hirohito commit suicide "to preserve the monarchy free from war guilt."

LEGAL COMMUNISTS

One of the striking features of the campaign has been the weight of artillery unlimbered against the infant Communist Party. Its National Congress early in December—the first held in nineteen years—was spotlighted by the discovery of an assassination plot against its top leaders by a group of ex-Kamikaze pilots. Although in mid-December the Communist total of paid membership was only some two thousand, conservative orators have been painting a lurid picture of the looming "proletarian dictatorship."

A substantial Japanese Communist movement seems in the offing. Communists are able to operate legally for the first

time in their history and can capitalize on the fact that they are the only group which has consistently opposed aggression. The opening of the political prisons freed hundreds of party members, including the leaders Kyuichi Tokuda and Yoshio Shiga. Tokuda, a fifty-one-year-old Okinawa-born lawyer, was one of the secret founders of the Communist Party in 1923 and has spent a third of his life in jail. Shiga, now editor of the reborn party organ *Red Flag (Akahata)* is a Tokyo Imperial University graduate who edited the magazine *Marxism (Markishizumu)* before his arrest seventeen years ago. The Japanese people were able to hear these men over the radio for the first time in round-table discussions broadcast by the Allied-controlled official radio.

In 1927 the Communist-sponsored Workers' and Peasants' Party *(Rodo Nominto)* polled 200,000 votes, and in the early thirties Japan was surpassed only by the Soviet Union and Germany in the volume of Marxist publications. At present the Communists have branches in nearly all of Japan's forty-seven prefectures, and by February they expect to have ten thousand paid members—the number they attained in 1928 when they were illegal but had not been pulverized by mass arrests.

At the recent party congress Tokuda informed the three hundred delegates that without the abolition of the emperor system and the establishment of a democratic republic the people's livelihood could not be stabilized and Japan could not become a trusted member of the family of nations. The delegates cheered the inclusion of the late Prince Konoye and some sixty other oligarchs on the war-criminals list and recommended an additional two thousand names. They disagreed with the contention of the Socialists and the Allied authorities that landlords should be recompensed in the transfer of land to tenant farmers. Although they have come out heavily for a "democratic front" and close cooperation with the Socialists, the offer has been cold-shouldered and the Communists will have to go it alone.

They will probably play an important role in the future, but they seem unlikely to win more than a dozen seats in their first election. More than several weeks of legality are needed to rebuild a political organization and a leadership that has been battered by two decades of dogged persecution and is still harassed by the police. Tokuda is very sick and has a crippled hand as a result of prolonged imprisonment and brutal beatings. Susumu Okano—his real name is Tetsuo Nosaka—the leader of the China-based Japanese People's Emancipation League and the only major figure who has not spent most of the last twenty years in prison, has been out of Japan for over a decade and is still reported in Yenan, the Chinese Communist capital.

These new forces will undoubtedly move the center of political gravity away from the discredited extreme right. The first post-war election will probably show a centrist trend, with the conservative Liberals and moderate Socialists emerging as the two largest parties. But the new government will be confronted with the pressing problems of food shortages, black markets, mass unemployment, runaway inflation, and war guilt. Unless rapid progress is made in their solution, the next election is likely to reveal increased radical strength.

Iranian Checkerboard

BY SIDNEY W. MORRELL

(A war correspondent who spent considerable time in the Near East on special missions for the Allied governments)

WHEN the flag of revolt was raised over northern Iran, it signalized much more than independence for the Azerbaijans, until then one of the world's unconsidered minorities. It was a sign that the power politics of the Big Three, for better or worse, had taken definite shape. Most persons who have been following the course of international relations, whether hopefully or cynically, have realized that in the end Washington, London, and Moscow must develop mutual trust on major issues, including the atomic bomb, or revert to the pattern of checkerboard politics. The Azerbaijan revolt, part and parcel of Big Three maneuvering in the Middle East, proves that the trend is toward power politics. It is appropriate, therefore, that the current conference of foreign ministers, should consider the incident.

The revolt was not a spontaneous affair; the conditions which provoked it were not new. The revolt could, in fact, have taken place at any time since December, 1943, and under almost the same circumstances as today. That fact is fundamental in any consideration of the present crisis.

In 1941 the Red Army moving from the north and the British army moving from the west (Iraq) invaded Iran and took the country into protective custody. The Allies feared at the time that Hitler's plan for world conquest involved a double thrust through Russia and Egypt which would meet in Iran and from there go on to link up with the Japanese in India. Hitler's armies were moving toward the Caucasus in the north and within striking distance of the Nile Delta in the south. The Japanese were making threatening gestures in the direction of India. A large German minority in Iran waited for the Reichswehr to appear at the frontier. Ready to serve it were iron foundries that had been built on credit by the genius of Hjalmar Schacht at sites commercially unprofitable in peace but invaluable to an invading army from the north—one was at Kazvin, north of Teheran; in the barren southern deserts through which lay the road to India were enormous wheat silos, with enough storage space for three times the population of Iran.

Fortunately a premature Nazi-inspired revolt in Iraq, Iran's western neighbor, betrayed the enemy's strategy while there was still time to act. It became clear that an elaborate schedule had been worked out by the Germans. A chain of airfields in Syria had even been placed at their disposal by

Vichy France to aid a full-scale paratroop invasion. The revolting Iraqi army occupied Bagdad. A surprise attack on the R. A. F. base at Habbaniyeh near by failed, but the British garrison there was besieged. The German minister to Iraq appeared at Mosul, center of the British oil fields in the north; the oil fields and installations were seized, and Luftwaffe planes brought in Nazi technicians who knew the function of every knob and dial.

Only the British gift for improvisation in an emergency prevented the rebels from gaining complete mastery. Troops were rushed from India to Basra, the Iraq port at the head of the Persian Gulf, and quickly subdued the resistance there, making it possible to fly supplies from the local airfield to the hard-pressed garrison at Habbaniyeh, which had been reduced to lobbing home-made bombs over the side of antiquated observer planes on to the massed ranks of the Iraqi army. The Arab brigade of Major Glubb piled into old trucks and taxicabs and plowed across the desert from Transjordan to relieve the defenders. Suddenly the Germans lost their nerve, and the oil technicians fled from Mosul. Their leaving without destroying the installations can only be explained by the supposition that they expected an imminent breakthrough in southern Russia and then a concerted drive on the heartland of the Middle East.

At this stage Churchill and Stalin decided that the preservation of a neutral Iran between British and Soviet spheres of interest in the Middle East might prove too expensive a luxury. On August 25, 1941, the British and Russian armies marched simultaneously into the country, meeting only spasmodic resistance from the German-trained Iranian army. The Shah, Reza Khan, abdicated in favor of his son. Iran concluded a treaty with the Allies, and by general consent an attempt was made to forget the invasion, which was tactfully referred to on all subsequent occasions as "the unhappy event of Shahrivar" (Shahrivar is the Persian calendar month from August 21 to September 21).

After Pearl Harbor the United States opened a supply route to Russia across Iran and established the Persian Gulf Service Command under Major General Connolly. Connolly's men were almost all technicians, engaged in operating the railroad across Iran and a fleet of Diesel trucks. To the British army was delegated the role of safeguarding the supply line as far as the Russian zone, at which point the Red Army took over.

One would like to think that in this zone where the American, British, and Russian armies first met, there was fraternization among the troops, and on higher levels inter-Allied cooperation which could be used as the foundation for cooperation after the war. Unfortunately, however, there was nothing of the kind. Fraternization between American and British troops was less extensive than in any other war theater I have visited. Fraternization between Red Army troops and either Americans or British was almost non-existent. Among the officers the best that can be said is that an efficient liaison was built up. Meetings were on a purely business basis, except for the occasional official party or reception given as a matter of course by the heads of the three commands.

The Russians, however, did not neglect to foster political and cultural contacts with the Iranians. After the collapse of the Reza Khan dictatorship, which for years had prohibited Iranians from having contact with the British and Russians in the country, several new parties came into being. Among these was the Tudeh, or Workers' Party, which was subsidized and otherwise supported by the Russians. Economic hardship and political unrest provided fertile soil for its growth and the Tudeh, organized in Teheran, spread quickly to the provinces. Critical of both British and American influences in the country, it organized agitation against the economic mission of Dr. A. C. Millspaugh, who was attempting to bring order into the country's finances, disrupted by shortages and rising prices. Dr. Millspaugh was hampered by the fact that the best food-producing areas of the country, the fertile rice and wheat districts round the Caspian, were in the Russian zone, sealed off from the rest of the country. The Tudeh Party ignored this circumstance and attacked the mission as inefficient.

By June, 1944, the party felt sufficiently strong to join forces with certain parliamentary deputies from Azerbaijan. The new group in the Parliament took the name of "Liberty" group, and proceeded to attack what it described as unjust conditions in the north and the oppression of Teheran.

That summer the governor of Azerbaijan, an Iranian appointed by Teheran but functioning by grace of the Russian military authorities in the area, came out with a demand that the northern zone be given autonomy. He was hastily recalled to Teheran and a new governor sent out. The Russians accepted the new official and left the world to guess what was behind the incident.

When the British realized their post-war weakness in the Middle East, they tried to induce the United States to share responsibility in that critical region. Their oil negotiations with Secretary Ickes in the summer of 1944 had this end in view; oil concessions for the United States in the Middle East, they believed, would arouse American economic interest and, eventually, a general awareness in the people. While the Ickes talks were proceeding in London, two American oil experts were negotiating in Teheran with the Iranian government for oil concessions.

As is well known, the oil deal never came off, partly because the large American oil companies opposed what they called the unwarranted interference of government with private enterprise and partly because the Soviet government, on learning of the Teheran oil talks, filed its own application for oil concessions in the country. The Iranian government then found itself in the embarrassing position of being unable to refuse the Russian application without at the same time refusing the American, which it had privately welcomed. When both applications were refused, the Soviet government showed no ill-feeling beyond pressing for a new Russo-Iranian economic agreement. Our entry into the Middle East was postponed until a new approach could be devised.

This new approach is found in the assumption by America of joint responsibility with the British for solving the problem of Jewish immigration into Palestine. It is a more logical approach, for the human issues of Palestine are nearer to the American heart than the oil wells of Iran. Of course, the Palestine question involves not merely the Jews but Moslem communities far beyond the Jordan.

Against this background the Azerbaijan revolt is seen partly as a Russian attempt to counter America's move on the Middle

Eastern checkerboard. The more quickly America acts to follow up its entrée, the more completely will Russia throw its weight behind an independent Azerbaijan.

Russia is getting tougher with Turkey. It is hard at work in Syria and Lebanon. Efficient Soviet information bureaus are functioning in both Damascus and Beirut. The Patriarch of the Soviet Republic of Armenia has recently toured the Armenian communities in Syria and Lebanon for the purpose of setting up youth hostels in those two young republics.

As significant as the status of Azerbaijan are the demands of the Armenians in Azerbaijan for union with the Armenians in eastern Turkey, and of the Kurds in Azerbaijan for union with their fellow-Kurds in the Mosul oil fields of northern Iraq. These are minority problems such as the late President Wilson never dreamed of when he formulated the theory of the self-determination of peoples.

C.O.'s: Second-Class Citizens

BY VINCENT HEATH WHITNEY

(On leave from the Department of Economics and Sociology of the University of Maine; formerly adviser to the National Service Board for Religious Objectors)

IN THE Second World War more than 15,000 American men applied for complete exemption from military service on grounds of conscience. Numerically, these men are unimportant beside the several million men in the armed forces. Their significance lies in the precedents which have been created by the way they have been treated in war time by a nation unequivocally committed to an all-out war effort.

From the outset Congress showed a willingness to make some type of provision for non-military alternative service. It was influenced undoubtedly by the example of England and by a desire to avoid the ineffectual brutalities of World War I; the treatment of conscientious objectors at that time has been called "one of the darkest chapters in the story of American liberties."

There is, of course, no general constitutional right to exemption from military duty on grounds of conscience. Such exemptions as exist are legally viewed as Congressional grants of privilege, and obviously Congress has the power to determine the boundaries of such exemptions or, if it sees fit, to grant none at all. It is another matter to recognize that the exercise of such negative power would merely effect the transfer of a difficult and unwanted problem to the military and the prisons.

In the war just ended the army was spared a repetition of its World War I experience, when C. O.'s were dumped wholesale into its arms; and it is to its credit that this time it followed the common-sense policy of transferring C. O.'s whom it had received through classification errors to non-combatant duty with the medical corps. On the other hand, World War II brought increased problems to the federal prison system. Some 5,000 men—roughly ten times the number in World War I—were committed to prison for average terms of three and a half years. A number received second and even third sentences. The principle of double jeopardy was held not to apply to them on the argument that each failure to comply with a provision of the Selective Service Act was a separate offense.

This somber record was chalked up in spite of a law considerably more liberal than that of the last war. Then assignment to non-combatant army service was permitted for "a member of a well-recognized [pacifist] sect." The new law permitted both non-combatant army duty and "work of national importance under civilian direction" for all persons opposed to participation in war because of "religious training and belief." At the same time Congress refused to follow the highly workable English law, which provided exemption from any service whatever for recognized absolutists, and individual paid service in socially useful positions—often their own pre-war jobs—for men opposed to army non-combatant duty.

One of the major defects of our law has been the vagueness of the religious test, which in practice has resulted in individual inequities. In the Kauten and Phillips cases, heard in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in New York, it was early established that exemption was to be based upon "the existence of a conscientious scruple against war in any form rather than allegiance to a definite religious group or creed." There has been sharp variation, however, in the practices of local draft boards and of the courts. Some have granted exemptions to men who are primarily humanitarian or political objectors. Others have narrowly interpreted the religious requirement and sent such men to the army or, if they refused to go, to prison.

What is more, the lack of separate tribunals to hear C. O. claims has forced this difficult task on to local boards, which have seldom been equipped to determine the sincerity of the men and frequently have lacked a full understanding of the procedures involved in their separate treatment. A few boards, influenced by strong personal opposition to alternate service, apparently resolved to grant no 4-E classifications; others, with no clear idea of how to handle C. O. cases, took no action to call up registrants for a physical examination. Obviously, considerable criticism can be made of a system under which so much depends upon the chance assignment of a man to one local board rather than to another.

In some larger centers boards which realized their own inadequacies followed a uniform policy of classifying all C. O. claimants 1-A and advising them to appeal. This procedure automatically transferred the investigation to the FBI, whose studies of each individual were thorough and careful. At the end of each investigation the FBI presented its evidence to a specially appointed hearing officer. The appealer, however, had no opportunity to rebut any unfavorable evidence; in fact, he was not allowed to know what the evidence against

him was. Nor was he permitted counsel. The Appeal Board, to whom the hearing officer reported, received no record of the extensive evidence of the FBI and no transcript of the testimony at the hearing and, as a result, customarily rubber-stamped the decision of the hearing officer. The wide variation in the percentage of appeals granted by different officers would call into question the impartiality of some. Thus a procedure which appeared to offer a liberal opportunity for an examination of adverse decisions by local boards was riddled with possibilities for discrimination.

For their part, the courts have customarily refused review of adverse decisions until after military induction of the individual. This has, in effect, denied review to genuine C. O.'s, unable because of their belief to enter the army. Furthermore, if a C. O. had entered the army, he would immediately have subjected himself to the likelihood of court martial. Nearly 3,000 C. O. claimants, refusing to appear for military induction, have received prison sentences.

Another major defect of the law itself proved to be its failure to specify the type or conditions of "work of national importance." In consequence, a system of isolated forced-labor camps was created by administrative fiat, a far cry from the expressed intention of Congress to provide an equal alternative to military service. In these camps, which on V-J Day contained slightly more than half of all 4-E's, non-emergency work of a type inherited from the CCC program has been performed without pay, at the expense of the individual inmate or of one of the sponsoring church groups. Many highly trained men whose skills might well have been used in the national interest, men who in civilian life were university teachers, lawyers, scientists, economists, and welfare workers, have been limited to this type of work or to the frequently dirty and disagreeable, though badly needed, duties of attendants in mental hospitals. Too frequently the leaf-raking, the log-carrying, the snow-shoveling have been so palpably useless as to emphasize the custodial nature of the camps. The Washington *Post*, recognizing the punitive aspects of the program, commented: "If there is any sense in this wasting of a man's skill . . . any justice in this punishment of a man because of his conscience, it is beyond our discernment."

Although the Selective Service Act provided for pay for C. O.'s not to exceed that of an army private, Selective Service refused to ask for an appropriation. What is more, men in Civilian Public Service have been asked, as one churchman put it, "to pay $30 a month out of their own pocket for the privilege of working for nothing." Some men are now in their fifth year of unpaid labor, and in addition are ineligible for dependency allotments, medical expenses, and other privileges extended to men in the armed forces.

The issue of forced labor without compensation has been appealed to the courts but without result. Yet as a special committee of the American Civil Liberties Union has pointed out, such a policy has placed C. O.'s in "a status lower than prisoners of war, lower than interned enemy aliens, or even convicted criminals, all of whom are paid for their work." Furthermore, the committee noted, "this inferior status [has been] imposed on them solely by administrative fancy." Such a policy constitutes an unhealthy precedent for future anti-democratic controls through labor drafts.

The public has shown an unexpectedly high degree of tolerance for the conscientious objector. The frequent brutalities of World War I have not reappeared. Ministers and laymen have been hired for or retained in important positions without reference to their attitude toward the war. There has been no large amount of anti-C. O. legislation either in Congress or in the state legislatures. Louisiana, Kentucky, and Florida passed laws denying certain public employment to C. O.'s. On the other hand, Tennessee and other states rejected similar legislation. And in California Governor Warren unexpectedly vetoed a bill passed by the 1945 legislature, which would have required all prospective public employees to state their views on war. Such legislation, he said, was an encouragement to "witch-hunting."

In Miami a public-school teacher, Edward O. Schweitzer, lost his appointment on the sole ground of his registration as a C. O., and the Florida Supreme Court upheld the School Board. Even more important was the five-to-four verdict of the United States Supreme Court sustaining the refusal of the Supreme Court of Illinois to admit Clyde W. Summers to the Illinois bar solely because of his C. O. beliefs. If permitted to stand, the decision may bar all C. O.'s from the practice of law and possibly of other professions.

For drafted men demobilization will show whether or not Congress sincerely desired to provide an equal alternative-service program. Selective Service's announcement of a point system for the discharge of men in Civilian Public Service after the end of the European war brought immediate Congressional response in the form of a bill introduced by Representative Winstead of Mississippi. As favorably reported out by the House Military Affairs Committee, the rewritten bill, by forbidding any point system, would have the effect of holding all C. O.'s in service as long as any conscripted military personnel remain. On the floor of the House Representative Winstead's request that the bill be placed on the Unanimous Consent Calendar has just been blocked by the objection of Representatives Judd of Minnesota, Keen of New Jersey, and Tarver of Georgia. The new bill will come up in regular order—a matter of months.

In another action Representative O'Toole of New York has proposed that all C. O.'s be sent abroad as occupation troops, at least until "every last man who has seen service" is returned. Most C. O.'s, of course, have as great an aversion to policing other men as to killing them.

Selective Service, for its part, has followed an ambivalent course. Officially, it has indicated its intent to end the Civilian Public Service Program unless forbidden to do so by Congress; and yet actual demobilization proceeds with painful slowness. In the Friends' camps, which can be taken as representative, 10 per cent of the men in C. P. S. on V-E Day had been discharged by mid-November. During the same period 34 per cent of the army was released. Official plans called for the discharge of 55 per cent of the army by January 1—as compared with only 15 per cent of the C. P. S.

Congress can still forbid any demobilization of C. O.'s, or it can insist that the process be rapidly completed. Selective Service can maintain its slowdown in discharge, or it can let go at once at least those men with two or more years of service and with families. What is done will show whether or not it is true that American conscientious objectors have become second-class citizens.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

British Coal

IT WAS in 1920 that a Royal Commission on the British coal industry, presided over by Justice Sankey, declared, "The present system of ownership and working . . . stands condemned and some other system must be substituted for it." But it is only today, after a quarter-century of blood, sweat, and tears, of strikes, unemployment, mounting inefficiency, and low wages, that the recommendations of this commission are being carried out by the Labor government's bill to nationalize the coal mines.

If in 1920 the situation of British coal was critical and the need for action urgent, today it has become desperate. Coal is Britain's one important native resource and the foundation of its industrial life. Despite intensive extraction for over 150 years, underground supplies remain abundant, although some of the best deposits have been exhausted. But today British householders shiver on meager rations, industry is barely supplied, export demands cannot be filled, and costs of production have soared about 100 per cent above the prewar level. More and cheaper coal is an essential pre-condition for industrial recovery.

After the last war Lloyd George staved off a strike in the minefields by appointing the Sankey Commission and promising to abide by its findings. To the consternation of British conservatives a majority of the commission, including its chairman, decided that public ownership was the only way to overcome the "waste and extravagance" inherent in the industry under private enterprise and to eliminate the friction between mine-owners and miners that was a standing menace to stable and efficient production. Lloyd George, whose parliamentary majority was mainly composed of "hard-faced men who looked as if they had done well out of the war," dared not accept this solution and reneged on his promise.

In the years between the wars the British coal industry carried on as it had always done, and the evils which so impressed the Sankey Commission were magnified. The operators combined to beat down wages and, at times, to raise prices, but they would not combine to increase efficiency. They could not agree to merge small undertakings so as to attract new capital and make mechanization an economic proposition. Technologically British coal mines lagged far behind not merely those in this country but those in Germany, Holland, and Poland. In the period between the wars output per manshift in Britain rose only about 15 per cent; in Holland it increased about 100 per cent and in the Ruhr about 50 per cent. This difference was not due to geological conditions, for Continental coal formations are fairly similar to those in Britain; it was due to the larger scale of German and Dutch operations, to better lay-out of the mines, to much greater use of machinery, and to improved training methods.

Last year a committee of mining technicians discussing the reasons for the backwardness of the British industry pointed out that "the employers, as a body, have been prepared neither to accept the principle of survival of the fittest nor fully to abandon their traditional individualism. In relation to their own undertakings the short view has too often prevailed." Believing that vitally needed technical changes could not be "carried through by the industry organized as it is today," the committee recommended the establishment of a statutory authority with effective powers to merge it "into units of such sizes as would provide the maximum advantages of planned production."

If the Tories had won the general election in Britain last summer, it is probable that they would have attempted to tackle the coal problem along these lines. For even the operators had come to recognize that drastic reorganization was essential. Their own solution was the cartelization of the industry under the top government of a "Central Control Board," which was to act as "trustee for the public" and govern the industry in the spirit of "national service." Characteristically, however, neither the public nor the miners were to have any voice in the election or decisions of this body; it was to be purely the creature of the owners. Thus the coal companies' alternative to public ownership was not competitive free enterprise but uncontrolled private monopoly.

Apart from all other objections, that solution would have been totally unacceptable to the miners, and without the cooperation of the workers reorganization of the mines on a more efficient basis is impossible. Their opposition to increased mechanization—the result of years of under-employment—has to be softened; so does their antagonism to the two-shift system, without which the overhead costs of mechanization may prove too heavy. Again, unless there is an improvement in the workers' attitude toward the industry, it will be difficult to overcome the present acute shortage of man-power. During the depression years tens of thousands of miners migrated from the coal fields, and few of the 100,000 who were drafted in the war expect to return. Moreover, miners have been increasingly reluctant to allow their sons to follow a trade so dangerous and so unstable. Consequently, recruiting is insufficient to balance retirements.

Nationalization will not eradicate all the plagues of the coal industry overnight, but it will offer a hope of improvement which should serve to arrest the drift from the industry and to stiffen labor morale. The transitional period, however, may present difficulties. The workers, a hard-headed union leader from Durham said to me when I was in England last year, had come to look upon nationalization as a cure-all. Consequently there was a danger of disillusionment when they found that it would not mean much immediate betterment of their condition. They would have to learn that the primary objective of nationalization was *national* benefit —not just short hours and high pay—and that a higher standard of living must depend on increased productivity.

In their long, bitter war with the "bosses" the miners have been conditioned to resistance. Now they will be called upon to cooperate with management and to adopt new standards of discipline. It will not be an easy psychological adjustment, but the problem is openly acknowledged, and the Ministry of Fuel and Power, in conjunction with the National Union of Miners, has already begun a campaign of reeducation.

KEITH HUTCHISON

The People's Front

WHEN the honorable representative of the Dominican Republic steps to the podium, the delegates to the inaugural meeting of the United Nations Assembly will undoubtedly hear a most eloquent address on liberty and peace. The Dominican delegate may find it difficult, however, to work the name of Rafael Trujillo into his speech; history does not record the "Gran Benefactor" among the creators of the Atlantic Charter. But perhaps by some trick of rhetorical prestidigitation he can include an account of Trujillo's accomplishments at home.

In the Dominican Republic practically every street, every school, every two-story house bears the inscription "Built by the initiative of the Benefactor of the Nation." The bigger the house, the longer the inscription: in the smart suburban districts to the title "Benefactor de la Patria" is added "Restaurador de la Independencia Financiera de la República." In the frequent patriotic celebrations peasants wear signs on their backs reading, "Dios en el cielo y Trujillo en la tierra" —"God in heaven, Trujillo on earth."

If it is too difficult to list all these glories in a short speech, the Dominican representative might limit himself only to those which have won for Trujillo an international reputation. It would begin with the massacre of 12,000 Haitians in 1937. At home his record is more modest: to date he has killed only 3,000 political opponents and these without any unpleasant publicity which might disturb Washington. His method has been admirably efficient: for years a gang of pistoleros operated regularly between midnight and dawn assassinating enemies or potential enemies of the regime. He had to abandon this simple procedure when a foreign diplomat returning one night from a party ran smack into one of these shooting affrays and lodged a protest with the authorities. Thereafter, political prisoners were seized quietly in their homes, taken to the little port of Caleta three miles outside of Ciudad Trujillo, and thrown to the sharks. In fairness to Trujillo it must be said that the number of killings has diminished in the last few years, perhaps because the General finds himself in the unhappy position of the Argentine *caudillo* Paez, who, when asked on his deathbed to forgive his enemies, replied sadly, "Father, why didn't you ask me that years ago? Now there is not one left for me to forgive."

Until a few years ago the "Restaurador de la Independencia Financiera de la República" believed that the economic prosperity of the country was synonymous with the prosperity of the Trujillo family. Every member of the clan down to the most distant cousin-in-law received a post in the administration or the army; in return he had only to contribute a small percentage of his salary to the Benefactor. But with an increase in the size of the army, whose job it is to maintain order, Trujillo prudently decided to distribute some of his benefits among the generals. General Federico Fiallo, chief of the Dominican Gestapo, has been one of the chief recipients of Trujillo largess. Aside from keeping the army clique in line through this "share-the-wealth" system, Trujillo has only one other preoccupation, that of courting the United States. To this end he has permitted American capital to buy up the sugar plantations and to pay Dominican and imported Haitian workers wages that rate among the lowest in Latin America.

The Dominican representative to the UNO will have a worthy rival in the person of the delegate from Paraguay. President Morinigo is less vain than the dictator of the Dominican Republic but he can match him when it comes to dealing with the opposition. At the national trade-union conference in Buenos Aires this month Porfirio Nuñez, the Paraguayan representative, described the unbelievable tortures inflicted on prisoners in the concentration camps of the north Chaco jungle. Recently a hundred men—journalists, professors, doctors, and political leaders—were arrested for plotting to establish a "Communist dictatorship" in Paraguay. I met some of these men when I visited Paraguay as chairman of the League of Nations Commission on the Chaco war; these potential "Communists" are about as communist as Harry Hopkins. They belong to the Unidad Nacional, a movement which includes such distinguished persons as the former President of Paraguay, Dr. José P. Giggiari, former Senator Vicente Rivarola, and the former president of parliament and delegate to the Pan-American conference at Montevideo, Geronimo Riart. "Our only crime," declared one of the prisoners to a correspondent of the Montevideo newspaper *El Pais*, "is that we are anti-Nazis."

The Himmler of Paraguay who discovered the "plot" is Colonel Heriberto Florentin, who delights in supervising personally the torture of prisoners, especially when the prisoner is the seventeen-year-old student Sallimben or the anti-fascist woman leader, Petrona Arzamendia. Recently he intensified repressive measures after the democratic elements of Paraguay staged an impressive protest against the Argentine dictatorship during a visit of General Farrell, Argentina's puppet President, to Asunción.

The other day I received a letter from one of the Paraguayan leaders whose name I cannot reveal for obvious reasons. He asked why it is the people of the United States do not recognize the danger to this hemisphere if Perón should be elected President of Argentina on February 24. "With the help of Morinigo," he writes, "and the other would-be Morinigos of Latin America, Perón will seize control of Paraguay and Bolivia; within four or five years he will have become so strong that the United States, in order to oppose him in Latin America, will be obliged to wage a war."

Can I reply to my Paraguayan friend that few people in the United States are interested in Latin America; that few still know what is happening in Paraguay or in the Dominican Republic or in Argentina; that some of those who do know helped to open the door of the United Nations Organization to the Perón regime?

DEL VAYO

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

GABRIELA MISTRAL

BY MILDRED ADAMS

THE gulf between North and South American culture revealed itself with startling clarity in the recent public reaction—or lack of it—to the news that the 1945 Nobel Prize for literature had been conferred upon Gabriela Mistral of Chile. Miss Mistral is the first Latin American to win the coveted award. Her name is a household word south of the Rio Grande: her poetry is deeply loved, and some of her ideas are the subject of passionate debate. Yet North Americans seem only dimly aware that such a person exists. And this despite the fact that her first book of poems was published by the Instituto de las Españas at Columbia University.

Miss Mistral's first recognition in this country came in 1922, partly because the publication of her book set up echoes of the discovery of a poet so important that she cracked the language barrier, partly because her glorification of the rural teacher and her deep compassion for the neglected country child attracted teachers. Also it caught the attention of José Vasconcelos, Minister of Education in Mexico and a figure well known in the United States, who was undertaking to reform and improve Mexican country schools. He invited Miss Mistral to direct that campaign. North Americans in the fields of education and child welfare watched with interest, and a few of the poet-teacher's verses were translated by admirers here. In 1931 she came to give lectures at Barnard College and at Middlebury. After the publication in 1938 of her third book, "Tala," with its touching dedication to the Basque children who had fled before Franco's Moors, she again visited this country and was officially entertained in Washington.

None of this brought her to the attention of the general public here. Nor did the fact that she had been published in at least five European languages make any impact on a people seldom aware of foreign poets who have not obvious publicity value. Her recent elevation to Nobel Prize status was met mostly with a blank stare and an interrogative eyebrow.

Because Gabriela Mistral's poetry reflects the experience nd emotions of her own life, it is important to know at least he outlines of that life. She was born Lucila Godoy Alcaaga, in 1889, in one of those deep Chilean valleys where he sun shines only a few hours each day. At fifteen she beran to teach primary students in country schools so poor that, s she says in one of her famous poems, when she wanted o comb a child's hair she had only her own fingers with hich to smooth the long black locks. She taught for ten ears, and then for eight more, with a growing literary fame t once feeding and being fed on her teaching career.

Then came the publication of her first book of poems, idespread recognition throughout Spanish countries as a ajor poet, and the invitation to take charge of the reform f rural primary schools in Mexico. She stayed there for two ears, and still refers to that land as "my Mexico." Never gain did she go back to the hard career in which she had spent her youth and made her first fame. Instead she became a civil servant and was granted an honorary pension by the state but expected to work for it. She was for a time Chilean member of the Institute for Intellectual Cooperation attached to the League of Nations. She has been consular representative of Chile in Palermo, Madrid, Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro, and other capital cities of Europe and America. It is largely an honorary post in the Latin manner, giving her time for writing, and for lecturing at colleges and universities.

Her work came out in three volumes, widely separated in time and place. "Desolación" was published in New York in 1922; "Ternura," a book of poems for children, in Madrid in 1924; "Tala," written out of "my love for the blood of Spanish innocents," appeared in Buenos Aires in 1938. A fourth volume, "Lecturas para Mujeres," which she compiled in Mexico at the request of José Vasconcelos, contains, with other material, some of her prose and verse. There is said to be a good deal of verse and prose still uncollected. She herself speaks of her *"dejadez criolla"* in matters of publishing, which could be translated as a native tendency to procrastination.

Miss Mistral made her first reputation with three "Sonnets to Death," which won a Chilean poetry prize for her in 1914. Her first volume, published eight years later, is full of passion and tragedy—the suicide of a lover, the anguish of the woman who quarreled with him and lost him, the deep longing for his child which she would never bear. With these themes go her love for and keen observation of country places and country children and her sense of the teacher as a consecrated being. The tone is simple, direct, almost primitive. She talks to Christ as freely as to a child. Her expression is devoid of modern mannerisms and romanticist pretensions; her lyric tone is pure. Friendly critics say that her masters were the Bible, Dante, Tagore, and Tolstoy.

Her later volumes carry the same clarity of expression, the same threads of mingled mysticism and paganism, the same moving force of love and tragedy. She has not had an easy life, and the anguish of it is laid open and served up bleeding. Her sympathies are with the downtrodden and forgotten —the shy, wild children in lost Chilean valleys, the Basque orphans scattered "among strange peoples in countries of impossible tongues and bitter climates." The Spanish war she took—as did so many other poets—as a personal catastrophe, and she castigated her continent for not welcoming its exiles. This point of view did not increase her popularity with people who had already objected to her frankness and her anticlerical sentiments.

Even when young she was "more sphinx than nymph." Nowadays she is a monumental figure, heavy set, the mouth down-curving, the eyes somber, the body still as though carved out of basalt. Thunder clouds gather easily on the heavy forehead, and the fine eyes under arched brows shoot fire at any suspicion that she is not taken seriously. One of her Mexican friends calls her only part human in her continual insistence on the tragic side of life. Gabriela is unteachable and unchangeable, he insists. She has no sense of humor

that would be so recognized by a North American, but with children she is whimsical and gay. In a group she is silent, a stone image of a woman listening. Yet her dialogue with a sympathetic friend can be witty as well as wise.

Gabriela Mistral's poetic reputation has been founded on the quality of her song, her compassionate insight, the expression she gives to the deepest emotions that move the human heart. Her secure position in literature written in the Spanish tongue is unchallenged even by those who disagree with her philosophy and deplore the tone of seer and prophet which infuses much of her later prose writings. The move to seek the Nobel prize for her began around 1940, and enlisted aid all over South America. Its granting will be interpreted as shedding luster not only on the poet but also on the woman and on the continent.

For that very reason it is necessary to raise the question as to which of the three factors—achievement, sex, or geography—really won her the prize. A major poet she surely is, but three volumes of verse, the latest of which appeared in 1938, is a slender basis on which to gain worldwide recognition in 1945. Meanwhile other poets have risen to challenge her ascendancy, some of them writing Spanish on her own continent. One thinks of Pablo Neruda, of Alfonso Reyes, of Nicolas Guillen, with his cry of the oppressed, of Cesar Vallejo, who died so tragically young yet with such fine work already done. All of them can lay claim to having come closer to the glory and the anguish of these later years. Their production is considerable, their themes are universal, their verse is powerful.

The uncomfortable suspicion persists that the prize may have been awarded to Miss Mistral this year because her poetry, being fine, was also safe and in the main non-controversial. Her poems are deeply human, and in style and content they raise a minimum of uncomfortable questions. Moreover, Miss Mistral is a woman, and not many Nobel prizes have gone to women poets; she is a South American, and no Nobel prize has previously gone to a South American. This year above all others, with poets in other places submerged by the war, a South American woman poet could be safely chosen, particularly as her fellow-poets held her in such warm regard.

But the Nobel prize, if it is to live up to its great pretensions, should not raise such doubts in the minds of listeners. That it does so this year is a reflection not on Miss Mistral but on the prize committee.

BRIEFER COMMENT

Goods for Goods

STUART CHASE'S gift for assimilating masses of technical and controversial material and then presenting it in a lively and highly readable form is nowhere better revealed than in "Tomorrow's Trade: Problems of Our Foreign Commerce," the latest of the series he is preparing under the auspices of the Twentieth Century Fund ($1). This is a book which needed to be written, and one can feel relief now that it has been done. Any intelligent reader who wants to understand foreign trade can find the basic answers here.

Mr. Chase seizes upon the simple fact that foreign trade cannot exist except by the exchange of goods and services for goods and services. That is the fundamental fact about all trade. The owner of the local department store wants his potential customers to sell their goods; otherwise he will not be able to sell his goods. He does not encourage his customers' customers to stop buying, nor does he insist on selling goods to the man who has no business of his own, and no job, and no prospects. Yet the advertisements in our magazines today and the public utterances of prominent men seem to recommend just that policy in our foreign trade. We are to *export*. If we export, we can supply 10,000,000 jobs to our people. But never a word about buying. Anyone who after reading Mr. Chase's analysis does not see the stupidity of that attitude should start building himself a deep shelter and wait for the atomic bombs which will follow a policy of exporting our goods and our unemployment.

One should be grateful for so clear an exposition of a problem around which so thick a fog has been cast. But I cannot help wishing that Mr. Chase had found a different formula for expressing the basic fact than "stuff for stuff." Most foreign transactions, as well as most domestic trade, to be sure, are based on the exchange of "stuff for stuff." But this seems to limit trade to tangible material goods. So long as we continue to think in terms of radios and machine tools, cotton and hides, we shall not be able to solve many of our problems. Mr. Chase speaks of the invisible items in foreign trade and gives a clear picture of their importance. But unless he modifies his formula to imply their probable increasing importance, his readers may fail to appreciate that tourist trade, remittances by immigrants, and other services which are not precisely "stuff" may play a very large part in solving not only our domestic and foreign-trade but our full-employment problem. Education, the arts, medical research, social research—these intangible services are likely to furnish an answer to the problem of overproduction of material goods, and the unbalance between our capacity to produce and that of our neighbors.

ETHEL M. THORNBURY

The Evolution of Faith

PERHAPS IT IS BECAUSE a modest and critical trust in reason still seems to me the best equipment a man may have in this troubled world that I find it difficult to form an exact picture of the public for which "The Wisdom Tree" by Emma Hawkridge (Houghton Mifflin, $3.75) is intended. Readers of Frazer, or of such books as "Totem and Taboo," or of Jung's "Psychology of the Unconscious" may take interest in this account of the evolution of the major religious faiths. It would probably have value for those who consider it wise to give their children some knowledge of comparative religion, though I should judge Salomon Reinach's "Orpheus" a better book for that purpose. For those who can make a Santayana-like abstraction of the symbolic values of a religion and believe it important and profitable to do so "The Wisdom Tree" may possibly serve better than the French scholar's classic. It is beyond my capacities to criticize the book as a historian of religions might do. The bibliography indicates that Mrs. Hawkridge has followed the best authorities, though in her brief reference to the Egyptian religious

revolution which brought in the feudal period about 2000 B. C., she is far less bold than Breasted himself. In general "The Wisdom Tree" is well written, though there is a tendency to lushness and a disinclination to define concepts. There is a fairly satisfactory correlation of the religious with the "non-spiritual" facts of history, and the illustrations are good.

RALPH BATES

VERSE CHRONICLE

TRIBUTE TO THE ANGELS. By H. D. Oxford University Press. $2.

THE SONG OF LAZARUS. By Alex Comfort. The Viking Press. $1.75.

FOR H. D. the Education of Hellas was more than a place and less than an education: it was a religion. But she has worn out the place names and the olives; wandering among barbarians, patching what religious scraps she can pick up into a quilt to warm her bombed old bones, she evokes a wondering and amused affection. Yet imagism was a *reductio ad absurdum* upon which it is hard to base a later style: H. D.'s new poem is one for those who enjoy any poem by H. D., or for those collectors who enjoy any poem that includes the Virgin, Raphael, Azrael, Uriel, John on Patmos, Hermes Trismegistus, and the Bona Dea.

Although the first part of Alex Comfort's novel is better han anything in his book of poems, he is potentially and in liffusion an interesting poet. Unfortunately, neither organizaion nor economy is natural to him, and the extensive, rather lumsy energy of his best prose is tenuous in his verse. One ut of a dozen of his phrases is thoroughly successful; the ther eleven are typical—typical enough to tell you how old e is, where he lives, whom he reads. (Appropriation is the ncerest flattery, as you can see when workers take over the ate, or when Mr. Comfort infringes again and again on ch notorious patents as Dylan Thomas's "candle in the ighs.") In their elegiac, almost pastoral reflection in these oems, death and the war seem hardly more than allegorical nanations of some passive, amoral reality. There flows by terminably a clear, ripe, shining, well-watered, rather French d feminine nature: blood or vague sexual fluids pulse rough its imagined vessels, and as you wander over the halk-pit's navel" or the "fruitful thighs of the corn," you el that you are in some modernist room where all the woods blond, the hues unsaturated, and the designs unarresting full of symbols borrowed from "The Interpretation of eams." But the inhabitants of this room are dead or dying: rywhere you stumble there are the bones—improbably poled bones, but bones—that the wars of bad men in far-off itals have scattered here. Such agreeable osseous nonsense he all too articulate skeletons perpetually popping, like k-in-the-boxes, from the duped and temporary flesh—kes it hard to take any death seriously, or to remember t Mr. Comfort is talking about the deaths, not of Corydon l last fall's leaves, but of the peoples of the Second World ar.

Mr. Comfort was a conscientious objector; so it is unnecesy to say that he has both courage and individual judgment. t the good luck that made him an interne in a London hos-

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pital instead of a laborer in some concentration camp in the country has cut him off from all of us in his poems: he is the isolated, pacifist, individualistic anarchist who tells the truth about things to the deceived homogeneous mass that is everybody else. This truth has the attractive and improbable simplicity of the Robinson Crusoe demonstrations of the Jevonian economist. Mr. Comfort believes in conscientious disobedience: if no one obeys the government there will be no war. There can be war only because people are dupes—"upright clock-faced citizens" who are fooled by the "loaded dice," the "stacked cards" of the "drunkards and whoremasters" who are their governors. The poet's irritation at the stupidity of the corpses weakens his pastoral and generalized grief for them; besides, these are the wholesale deaths that happen to other people, not the petty retail deaths that happen to you and yours. And he never wonders: how does it feel to be a dupe? But the way things are for us—not the way they would be if we were rational, economic Benthamic men, intelligently determining the algebraic sum of our own interests—is what has to matter to that witness of the actions of men, the poet. Between Mr. Comfort and the soldiers there is a final barrier: he is right and they are wrong; and he cannot share the sympathetic, unwilling identity in which all their differences are buried—their uneasy knowledge that the mechanics of their living and someone else's dying is statistical. It is hard for him to feel for one of them an unmixed sorrow; he can't help thinking, "He'd have been all right if he'd only had sense enough to disobey." But he means, *if they'd only all had sense enough to disobey*: though he seems to think he is making plausible political proposals, he is actually making impossible moral demands. To him, as he states in an essay, any resistance to any state is an intrinsic good—since all states are equally and absolutely evil; a person is necessarily virtuous, a citizen necessarily vicious. This is an anarchism possible to the docile inhabitants of a long-established, well-regimented community: that is, to citizens who are protected from each other thoroughly enough, and unnecessarily enough, to believe that there is nothing they need be protected from except the state.

We can hardly fail either to sympathize with Mr. Comfort or to realize that he is right in considering that the states themselves are at present the main danger their citizens face; I do not know whether it would be right for him to sympathize more with us, but—so long as we are his subject matter—it would certainly be expedient. It is hard not to quote to him Cromwell's "I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, consider that ye may be mistaken." His version of the unarmed, eventually triumphant proletariat of the anarchists reminds one of its contrary, the armed triumphant proletariat of Marx: I remembered the murals in Mexican market-places, with their workers who wave red banners Against the Next Imperialist War—workers whose broad stern faces are complicated by no premonition of their own official future in that war. Yet when one considers the mechanisms of the contemporary states—from the advertising agencies that turn out their principles to the munitions factories that turn out their practice—it is hard to think of the triumph of any proletariat as anything more than a wistful compensating dream: it is we who wither away, not the state.

RANDALL JARRELL

The Art of Cezanne

REALLY valuable texts on art are so few that whenever one appears the fact should be proclaimed in haste. I have had Earle Loran's "Cézanne's Composition" (University of California Press, $6.50) in my hands for almost two years and have delayed reviewing it—which was unfair to everyone concerned—only because I wanted to make sure that I understood Professor Loran's thesis exactly. In the meantime, however, I have learned a great deal from his book about modern painting in general.

Professor Loran—himself a painter as well as associate professor of art at the University of California—devotes his attention mainly to Cézanne's concrete means and methods, and he arrives thereby at an understanding of Cézanne's art more essential than any other I have seen in print. Professor Loran's thesis declares that the French master achieved his effects of volume and space primarily by "linear structure," not by color or texture. This goes against the standard notion—presented impressively by the Austrian Fritz Novotny and more recently repeated in brief by Edward Alden Jewell in his preface to a thin volume of bad reproductions called "Cézanne" (Hyperion Press, distributed by Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $3)—which contends, in Mr. Jewell's words, that Cézanne "established recession from the picture plane by means of a system of modulated color or the use of different colors to mark the receding planes."

Professor Loran explains his own view in detail by diagrammatic analysis of some thirty-odd paintings, presented in black and white reproduction along with many interesting photographs of the original motifs in nature from which the master made his open-air pictures. From his argument Professor Loran derives a system of principles through which not only Cézanne, he claims, but almost all great artists who explored the illusion of the third dimension on a flat surface obtained their best results. These principles—which are a matter of intuition and experience rather than of conscious thought—make it necessary to simplify, distort, and abstract in order to create spatial and volume tensions without violating the two-dimensional integrity of the picture plane. Here linear outline—not as final effect, as arabesque, but as a means of construction—is more decisive than modeling, whether in facets of pigment or in darks and lights.

Distortions, as we know, play a prime role in Cézanne's art. It is the drawing that they dictate which divides pictorial space into dynamic entities. The little color facets, subtly defining each small variation of plane, do but clothe the skeleton confirming and making more substantial what is already there in principle. One of the proofs of Professor Loran's thesis—which he himself does not mention—is how well Cézanne's pictures stand up in black-and-white reproduction, by contrast to strictly impressionist paintings, which depend far more on color and texture. But this fact should also give us to think whether Cézanne did not pay more attention to dark and light values than he himself realized.

Of course, Cézanne's color plays an enormously important part in the final effects of his art—and far from overlooking this part, Professor Loran deals with it at length. Cézanne's own conception of the importance of color is shown by his preference for the Venetian and Spanish schools of painting

above others of the past. Those who choose painterly painting must stress color, and properly. Yet Picasso and Braque showed how profoundly they understood Cézanne when, in embarking upon cubism under his influence, they stripped themselves down to black, brown, gray, and white in order to lay bare the bones of the problem. In no other way could the meaning of the revolution Cézanne precipitated have been so relevantly made plain.

There is not the space here to go into the nature of that revolution. Suffice to say that it has been radically misunderstood by those critics who argue from Cézanne's example that volume—or "plasticity"—is the end-all and be-all of painting. If anything, the case is exactly the opposite with regard to Cézanne's historical effect, for his example as much as anyone's has strengthened the modern tendency toward flat painting.

And as for his epigones among painters themselves: they have applied his drawing in a fashion and they have applied the general tonality of his color, but they have not digested the inner logic of either. Thus their conception of pictorial space remains essentially pre-Cézannean. I cite as evidence the work of Max Weber, that estimable but somewhat overrated artist who has not yet perceived, as Cézanne did from the first, that it is the unity of a picture that constitutes its virtuality as a successful work of art, not the juiciness of brush strokes, not the amount of paint quality per square inch.

One more word. Professor Loran is no idolator of Cézanne and is not blind to his few shortcomings. It is this among other things that helps make his book such a good textbook for the concrete understanding of modern painting. The failures of a great painter are often more illuminating to the student than his successes. CLEMENT GREENBERG

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

LATE in the eighteenth century David Garrick cut the grave-diggers out of his new production of "Hamlet" and was thanked by Steevens, the best Shakespeare scholar of his day, for thus correcting the Bard's characteristic bad taste. The same scene is among those missing from Maurice Evans's "G. I. version," now brought from the Pacific to the Columbus Circle Theater, and we are told that it was eliminated because the soldiers found it a distressing excrescence. This may not be sufficient to demonstrate that our fighting men are pseudo-classicists whether they know it or not, but there are other respects in which the Evans production would have seemed less unconventional to an eighteenth-century audience than it does to a modern one.

Those who were accustomed to seeing Hamlet dressed as a French abbé and Macbeth rigged out in all the red and gold splendor of a grenadier's uniform would find the somewhat neutral and unobtrusively modern costuming adopted by Evans subdued rather than startling, and they would also consider the general tendency to treat the whole play as a declamatory melodrama traditional rather than novel. Many historians have pointed out that Shakespeare was most popular on the stage in the days when a far from sacred text was not only cut but added to as any actor saw fit, and the meaning of it all may be simply that the median taste of a large heterogeneous audience in the Pacific or anywhere else is most accurately hit when the obvious values of any play are accentuated and everything in the slightest degree esoteric or even unfamiliar is as far as possible eliminated.

Mr. Evans's production starts off briskly with the scene on the battlements played as an encounter between a group of hearty, prosaic soldiers going about their routine job. The effect is excellent until, a few minutes after it has begun, one of the Danish G. I.'s is compelled to launch into the ornate passage which begins, "Some say that ever 'gainst that season comes wherein our Savior's birth is celebrated"; that passage, which never fails, no matter how the scene is played, to seem a bit gratuitous, stubbornly defies the effort to make it possible as a bit of casual conversation. And right here it might as well be pointed out that there is more than one moment in the play when Shakespeare's language defies the attempt to present his characters as fundamentally merely a group of regular fellows—it does again, for instance, in the scene of the last parting of Ophelia and Laertes, where in the present production Laertes sits on the arm of a chair, engages in only half-serious badinage with his sister on the subject of seemly conduct for virgins, and almost convinces us that this is the way in which the scene should be played until we become gradually aware that such casual manners and such a casual attitude are not really compatible with the formality of the language he uses. Much of the time Mr. Evans avoids such difficulties by cutting out whatever part of a speech seems to make it either too long or too formal, and I am not saying that the occasional incongruities which remain would or should be more distressing to a heterogeneous audience than much of "Hamlet" as originally written inevitably is to those unprepared by experience or education to participate in the mood which Shakespeare intended to create. But I am maintaining that such a version as the present one is, nevertheless, an ingenious and entertaining perversion rather than an actual interpretation of the play in question.

Some modern critics—Dover Wilson among them—have insisted that Hamlet himself is not the doubting, introverted philosopher which the romantics make him but primarily a man of action who delays because he must, and Mr. Evans seems to have adapted if he has not exaggerated this view. Supposing, rightly perhaps, that the average fighting man would not be too sympathetic toward the sort of fellow whom General Patton would undoubtedly have been glad to slap, Evans has made the melancholy Dane robustiously troubled rather than actually melancholy and permitted him only occasional rather puzzling lapses into morbidity at those times when he is compelled to permit him to indulge in quite uncharacteristic wishes that this too, too solid flesh would melt or in equally improbable speculations concerning that bourne from which no traveler returns. Hamlet's mockery of Polonius and of the hapless Rosencrantz and Guildenstern becomes almost joyously aggressive rather than something which springs from self-torturing bitterness, and frequently his jibes are presented—rather more convincingly than one might at first think possible—as pretty close to wisecracks. But to me it has always seemed that certain passages confounded Dover Wilson almost as effectively as they now confound Mr. Evans. Even if Hamlet's own repeated self-reproaches be dismissed as unjustified self-criticism, there remains the ghost's reference to his son's "almost blunted purpose," and the ghost, we are assured, is "an honest ghost." Nor, leaving G. I. prejudices aside, do I see any reason why anyone should want to surrender the fascinating problem presented by a man temperamentally unfitted for a role which he nevertheless feels it his duty to accept, merely in order that we may gain one more example of the conventional tragic hero of action.

If I had more space I should like to say a word of praise for Frances Reid's Ophelia and for the rather original Queen of Lili Darvas, who makes her less sinister, more merely light-minded than is usual and gives a really admirable performance in the closet scene. As for the production and interpretation as a whole, it should interest not only uncritical audiences, which will, I suspect, like it very much, but also those familiar enough with the play to be curious to see what happens when it is played for broad rather than for subtle effects. But the G. I. "Hamlet" remains an interesting stunt rather than a production to be taken with full seriousness.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

ON COLUMBIA'S December list is Mozart's String Quintet in C major (K. 515), played by the present Budapest Quartet—Roisman, Ortenberg, Kroyt, Schneider—and Milton Katims (Set 586; $4.50). The grandness of scale and style, the intensity and power of the first movement; the somber strangeness of the minuet, the startling harmonic progressions of the first part of the trio, the violent intensities of its middle part, in the second movement; the heart-piercing loveliness of the slow movement; the breath-taking episodes in the finale; and, most important, the wonderful musical ideas throughout—all these make this one of Mozart's greatest utterances. It gets one of the Budapest Quartet's unapproachably great performances, in which the phraseological inflection and the integration of the lines of sound are something one can scarcely believe as it happens. And the performance gets the best reproduction that Columbia has achieved with the group so far. It isn't perfect reproduction, however:

on some sides the sound is well-balanced, bright, clear, and agreeable to the ear, but without the warmth it should have; on other sides it is disagreeably sharp-edged; on all sides the rich sound of Schneider's cello is hard and dry.

The two sides of a single disc (71696-D; $1) offer an uncut performance of a Mozart aria which hitherto has been recorded only on one side with one of its episodes omitted: the lovely *L'amerò, sarò costante* from "Il Re Pastore"—or rather *L'amerò, sarò co-ho-ho-ho-stante,* as Lily Pons sings it. Her singing is agreeable in sound and smooth in style, and is reproduced with more volume, clarity, and brilliance on the second side than on the first. The sound of Bruno Walter's orchestral accompaniment also is better on the second side than on the first. The sound of Bruno Walter's orchestral accompaniment also is better on the second side; but Mishel Piastro's violin obbligato is offensively treacly on both sides.

After recording eleven songs from Schubert's "Winterreise" cycle for Victor several years ago, Lotte Lehmann did the remaining thirteen for Columbia, which issued seven in one volume, and now issues six in a second volume (Set 587; $2.75). The scrambled arrangement of each collection in the volumes makes it all but impossible to hear the series of twenty-four songs in the order, and with the continuity from song to song and the cumulative force, that it was intended to have; moreover, Lehmann's voice is reproduced differently by the Victor and Columbia records—more faithfully by the Columbias, but also with occasional buzzes and other imperfections. Her inflection and coloring of the phrases is eloquent and moving; but I am this time more sharply aware of the ack of rhythmic sense—for example in 'Der greise Kopf"—that astonished me reviously in "Wasserflut"; and I have ome to perceive the badness of Ulanow-ky's accompaniments—their feebleness f sound and character, their lack of nal and rhythmic continuity from one ote to the next.

Rehearing a work of Mozart after an nterval I get a completely new impres-on of its wonderful quality; and on the her hand rehearing a Brahms concerto a Shostakovitch symphony I am im-essed as though for the first time by hat a dreadful piece of music each is its own pretentious way. The Brahms ncerto this time is No. 2 for piano, ayed by Serkin with the Philadelphia rchestra under Ormandy (Set 584; 5.50). Schnabel's style is more authentic than Horowitz's; but Horowitz's performance has a sharpness of contour and a continuity of impetus—for example, in the first piano solo that builds up to the first orchestra tutti—that are lacking in Serkin's. Horowitz's performance also has the advantage of being presented in the wonderful orchestral framework created by Toscanini; and their combined performance has the advantage of being reproduced with clarity and brightness, whereas the sound of the Serkin-Philadelphia Orchestra performance is dull and murky.

The Shostakovitch symphony this time is No. 6, excellently performed by Reiner with the Pittsburgh Symphony, and excellently recorded (Set 585; $5.50).

Not long ago I spoke of how exciting it is to observe the coming into existence —involving extraordinary human powers —of each wonderful detail in the succession that becomes a quintet of Mozart, a ballet of Balanchine, a dance of Danilova. Other musical examples that I should have mentioned are a performance of the Budapest Quartet, and above all a performance of Toscanini. Not only his performance of a great piece of music, but his performance of a Waldteufel waltz, a Sousa march, or one of the delightful Rossini pieces in the volume issued by Victor (Set DV-2; $8.50): the Dance from "William Tell" (one side), the Overtures to "La Cenerentola" (two sides), "Il Barbiere di Siviglia" (two sides), "La Gazza Ladra" (two sides), and "Il Signor Bruschino" (one side). The sound of the N. B. C. Symphony on the records is reverberant but clear and, on most of the sides, bright; on the "William Tell" side it is especially brilliant, on the first "Barbiere" and "Gazza" sides it is dull; and there is variation also in volume and bass. The recordings are pressed on Victor's new plastic records; and a few sides of my review copy have clicks and other such noises.

I might add that from a couple of reports people have given me of their experiences with these plastic records it looks as though they had better be used only with light (one-ounce) pickups. Also, I have discovered that they store up electric charges, which may be what refills the grooves with the dust that has to be cleaned out before every playing. Records of ordinary opaque black vinylite do not store up such charges, and once cleaned remain clean. And finally, someone in a position to figure such things out presented information which indicated that Victor's price for a plastic record is about right.

Inquiries have begun to arrive about new phonographs, pickups, speakers, and so on. As yet I have no information about these things; as soon as I have I will publish it.

CONTRIBUTORS

MILDRED ADAMS has been for many years a student of Spanish and Hispano-American literature.

ETHEL M. THORNBURY was, during the war, an economist for the Office of Strategic Services and the Foreign Economic Administration.

RALPH BATES, the distinguished novelist, is the author of "The Undiscoverables," "The Fields of Paradise," and other books.

RANDALL JARRELL, who will contribute a regular Verse Chronicle to *The Nation,* is the author of two books of verse, "Blood for a Stranger" and "Little Friend, Little Friend."

CLEMENT GREENBERG is the art critic of *The Nation.*

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Letters to the Editors

Unbelievable

Dear Sirs: Your December 3 issue printed a letter from George Williams of Clarkston, Washington, which contained such a blatantly anti-Semitic statement that I could hardly believe my eyes. Mr. Williams points out several "serious difficulties" in opening Arizona to the refugee Jews of Europe and states that if "all the Jews actually settled in Arizona, they would eventually become American citizens and as such could leave this state and locate in any other." Then "they would thus assume *their two-thousand-year role as parasites among other people —as they have been, for example, in Europe.*"

If Mr. Williams's mind is not totally warped by the vicious hatred he expresses, I recommend that he go to any public library and read a few elementary facts about the history of Jews, civilization, and democracy.

BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN,
Eastern Regional Director,
Anti-Defamation League

New York, December 14

In Defense of AMG

Dear Sirs: Mea culpa! Having committed the unpardonable sin of writing an article favorable to AMG in Italy, I made it worse by carelessly asserting that "evrybody" in Milan agreed that, thanks to Lieutenant Colonel Harry G. Hershenson, justice was being done in a fair and impartial manner. I should have remembered that there is nothing under the sun on which *everybody* is in agreement, least of all Donald Downes of the Overseas News Agency, who frequently confuses himself with God. But I am still dismayed that I should have been attacked in *The Nation* by Downes for deliberately "misleading" readers of the Chicago *Daily News's* foreign service.

Anyone who cares to reread the dispatch in question will find that I did not credit the Colonel with inventing the Extraordinary Courts of Assize. I simply stated that he had replaced the kangaroo courts of the partisans with the Courts of Assize—which I knew, but did not feel it worth while to mention, had been established by decree of Prince Humbert at the request of the Allied Commission.

By September so-called "partisans"—for not all of them were entitled to that appellation—had put to death at least ten thousand so-called "Fascists"—"so-called" because their guilt was never legally ascertained. The Assize Courts meanwhile tried some two thousand persons accused of Fascist crimes in northern Italy. Of these, 271 were condemned to death, about 300 acquitted, and the rest given prison sentences.

I still think this is a record of which AMG may be proud. All Fascists are not equally guilty. Thanks to AMG, Italian courts, for all their many defects, were enabled at least to make some effort to separate the sheep from the goats.

Yet Mr. Downes asserts that AMG has been "reaping suspicion and distrust by making a fetish of order as opposed to *revolutionary justice*" (italics mine). I must confess that I am totally unable to grasp what Mr. Downes intends to imply by "revolutionary" justice. There was an insurrection, even revolution if you prefer, in northern Italy at the time of our offensive, but surely it was incidental to the force of Anglo-American arms. The latter won the war in Italy.

What can "revolutionary" justice possibly mean in its application to the situation in Italy? Can Mr. Downes be thinking of "mob" justice of the sort that *The Nation* so frequently criticizes in the South? Or can he be thinking of the "justice" so popular just now in the Sovietized countries of Europe?

Mr. Downes presumably considers it "reactionary" of AMG to have taken the view that all men are innocent until proved guilty. On the other hand, he presumably considers it "liberal" and "progressive" for a person to be lynched if there is reason to believe him guilty of a political crime.

As for the implication that AMG saved Carlo Emmanuele Basile, the former Fascist prefect of Genoa, from a death sentence: actually, he was saved by an all but forgotten clause in the military code which automatically commutes to twenty years' imprisonment all death sentences imposed on holders of Medals of Valor awarded in World War I. The trial itself was a sickening example of "revolutionary" justice, despite the efforts of AMG and the Assize Court. A Communist-organized claque of about 500 that packed the rear of the courtroom heckled the judges, shouted down Basile every time he opened his mouth, and finally set up such a roar that none of the court officials could hear a word.

Despite our many blunders, our naivete, our ignorance, even our arrogance, we have done a few things in Italy for which we have a right to be eternally proud. It is possible for the average Italian citizen to go to bed at night knowing that there is no longer a secret police which may break into his house and drag him off to prison. Every political and religious group in Italy today enjoys complete freedom of press, speech, and assembly. The Italian people have the basic civil liberties and the individual freedoms necessary to create a democratic society for themselves. Italy's prospects are grim indeed, but, politically speaking, no people in Europe today enjoys more individual freedom than the Italians—Mr. Downes to the contrary notwithstanding.

LEIGH WHITE
Correspondent, Chicago *Daily News*

Rome, October 28

Palestine Perspective

Dear Sirs: I have just finished reading the interesting article by I. F. Stone in the December 8 issue of *The Nation.*

It is especially gratifying that Mr. Stone states the elementary truth that Palestine "is the one place in the world where Jews are completely unafraid," and that "in Palestine a Jew is a Jew. Period." However, Mr. Stone fails to understand the Yishuv's present insistence on a Jewish Commonwealth.

A realistic and historical perspective of the Palestine problem is a prerequisite to understanding the Yishuv's attitude. In April, 1923, the British decided to appease Abdullah, King Hussein's second son, so that he would no interfere with the French rule in Syria Consequently they gave him Transjordania—the land east of the River Jordan. During the past twenty years the Arabs here moved freely from Transjordania into Palestine to earn a better living. Their entrance did not require special certificates or favors from the British government. The Jews, on the other hand, were barred from buying land or even living in Transjordania Jews were not allowed to enter Palestine without a certificate.

The Jews in Palestine sincerely wis

to cooperate with the Arabs, and at the same time they have the enormous task of rehabilitation and restoration of human dignity to their people. These purposes are not incompatible.

The Near East must be regarded as a geographic and economic unit. The Arabs in Palestine do not have any basis whatsoever for their fear of being mistreated as a minority by the Jews, in the event the latter are a majority, since the Jews constitute minorities in the surrounding Arab countries.

As a native of Palestine I should like to state here that the tension in Palestine is due primarily to the fact that the feudal Arab landlords—the Arab people have no voice—and the reactionary British Colonial Office do not like to see the growth of democratic forces in the Near East.

S. ZELMANS

Doylestown, Pa., December 9

The President Was Right

Dear Sirs: In your editorial Labor Says No in the December 15 issue I travel along in full accord with your first paragraph that a means for avoiding strikes is most desirable. Permit me, however, to dissent from everything else.

If, as you suggest, President Truman had asked labor leaders for advice on his suggestions to Congress, it would have been grossly unreasonable not to ask representatives of capital also. Both sides must be able to submit to the mediation body with a confidence which could not prevail if only one of them had a hand in the framing of the legislation. To ask both capital and labor for suggestions would evidently have been useless, since it is not likely that their ideas could be reconciled in view of the deadlock existing between them now. It was therefore up to the President to act for both sides in the manner that seemed best to him.

If Philip Murray is going to act up like his erstwhile sponsor, John L. Lewis, then one can only repeat the quotation invoked by the late F. D. R., "A plague on both their houses."

HARRY ORTNER

Brooklyn, December 15

Startling Departure

Dear Sirs: The article Greece in Purgatory by Philip Jordan in your December 8 issue is a startling departure from the distinguished coverage on Greece previously carried by *The Nation,* especially the fine reports of Constantine Poulos. The Jordan article flatly contradicts the Poulos article, Greek Tragedy, 1945, in your November 3 issue. According to Jordan, the British "saved" Greece, the Greeks want the monarchy, fear Russia, and hate the E. L. A. S. resistance movement. The British ambassador is "much maligned"—the American ambassador has "wisdom and charm." The British keep their troops in Greece to maintain freedom. Says Jordan: "If they were to go, there would be no freedom in Athens."

Poulos, however, writes that all the sweetness-and-light stuff which the British Ministry of Information puts out through its propaganda agency in Greece, the Anglo-Greek Information Service, cannot alter the bitterness which the majority of Greek people feel toward the British.

The Anglo-Greek Information Service is no doubt appreciative of Mr. Jordan's efforts. That is not surprising. What is surprising is that *The Nation* should carry such an article, the direct opposite of its information the previous month, without some explanation.

M. MANDELENAKIS,
Secretary, Greek American Council

New York, December 17

Here Comes Mr. Jordan

Dear Sirs: I returned from Greece recently, having spent a year and a half there, and I want to say a few things in connection with the article published in *The Nation* on December 8 under the title Greece in Purgatory.

The impression I received from reading the article was that Philip Jordan in writing about Greece could not forget that he was an Englishman. In this case he threw his liberalism overboard for the "glory of the Empire." The best one can say for Mr. Jordan is that most probably he did not stay in Greece long enough to know the situation.

In Greece in Purgatory we get the familiar story of the Greek right, with very few changes. The changes come occasionally when Mr. Jordan makes a fair statement such as "the terrorist activities of the right," only to take it out in the next sentence. The only part of Mr. Jordan's article where the truth appears is the last part, which deals with the economic situation—admittedly a very sore spot. Here we see the economic plight of Greece—a problem that UNRRA is unable to solve. Greece asks for reparations from Italy, but Allied policy is to be soft toward Italy; so Greece will receive nothing.

Mr. Jordan's article contains many erroneous statements. In the very first few words of the article there are two errors. He speaks of a "revolution by a minority a year ago." Well, the E. A. M., for Mr. Jordan's enlightenment, was not a "minority" at all a year ago. It is true that some Britishers thought so at the time, but they also thought erroneously that they could sweep the E. L. A. S. away from Athens within a couple of days. Coming to what Mr. Jordan calls a "revolution" and what I call "civil war," he conveniently forgets that it was the British who, after preparing for it for some time, finally brought it about. The British were afraid of the E. A. M. and its strength. This was a leftist movement, which, they thought, might side with Russia in the end. But apparently the E. A. M. was liked by the people, for they flocked to it in great numbers.

Next comes Mr. Jordan's contention that the people of Greece want the King back. That again is a misconception arising from the influence of the well-to-do element of Athens, with whom Mr. Jordan must have associated. If your correspondent had been able to talk with the people of the working-class sections of Athens or with the peasants in the Greek villages, he would have known that such is not the case.

Superficially, Athens had a kind of freedom when Mr. Jordan was there, but did it ever occur to Mr. Jordan that although published freely, papers might not be read freely? Did he try to find out if Athenian anti-royalist papers could circulate freely in the provinces?

There are many other misconceptions in Mr. Jordan's article. Suffice, though, to say that even the British government does not agree with him any more. After eleven months of intervention in Greek affairs, the British government now realizes that its policies were wrong. The new policy is to try to stop

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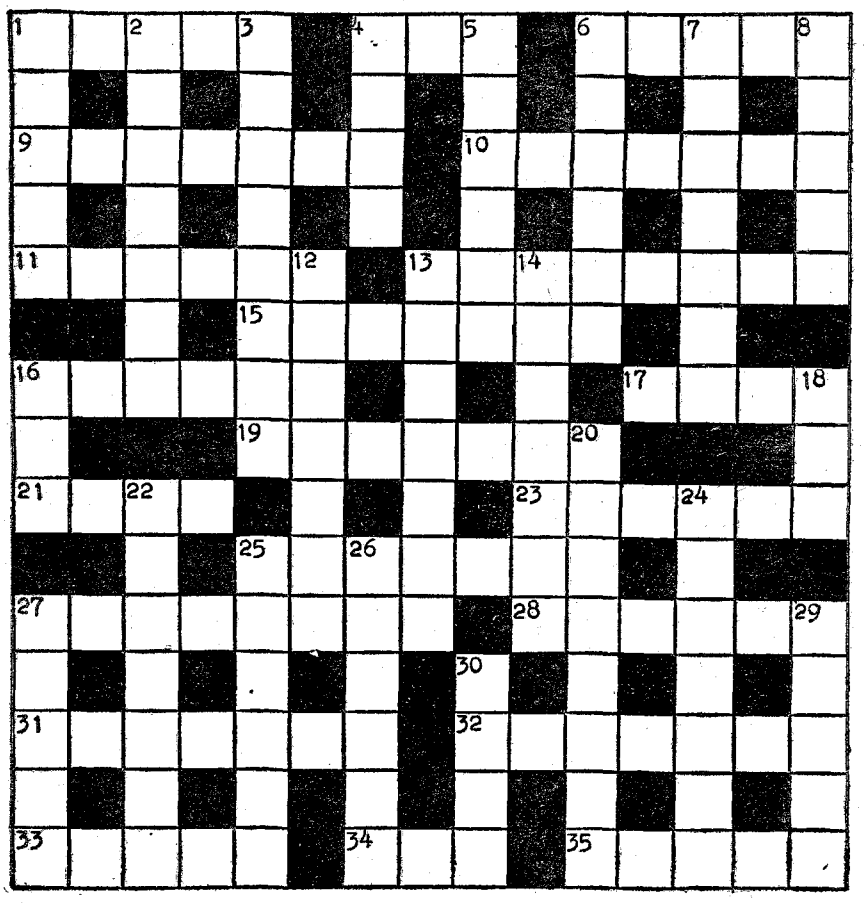
Crossword Puzzle No. 141

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 No limit (two words, 2 & 3)
4 Grampus
6 If you put her on you'll get the bird!
9 A ripe old age, even in the pen
10 Result of getting it back in French money!
11 Animal sometime known as "Whistling Rufus"
13 Dante's amoretto
15 Do they refer to their work as "the daily grind"?
16 In the red (two words, 2 & 4)
17 Partly responsible for the housing slump
19 Hearten (anag.)
21 Claret for boys, but this for men, thought Dr. Johnson
23 Name of many an old English tavern (two words, 3 & 3)
25 A 5,700-mile railway spans it
27 As Scottish a name as Aloysius is Irish
28 Trades which usually follow the Arts
31 An Indian hunter
32 Acquitted—well, I declare!
33 You should be getting very close here
34 Gangster's best friend (?)
35 Is usually followed by a calm

DOWN

1 Sambo's master turns up in the East!
2 Jemmied open, and reveled in it
3 Political clap-trap comes from a North Carolina county
4 Agate ox outside New York
5 Made without trouble and drunk without regret, in England
6 Longfellow referred to them as muffled drums
7 Second sight? No, second hearing
8 Pearl's mother
12 Wife of Oberon and queen of Fairyland
13 Garrulous nonsense
14 Poisonous stuff, this, but useful as a weed killer
16 A flibbertigibbet
18 One of the larger carnivora
20 Intimacy
22 Should be made to suffer in the ring
24 A hot place, though a plant liking coolness and damp is to be found there
25 To be thus lacking in mobility is no bad thing in war
26 Bing takes it back, but becomes sarcastic
27 Maud's here!
29 You can hardly think of Gomorrah without thinking of this
30 Trust a Caledonian to conceal the cost!

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 140

ACROSS:—1 BEN HUR; 5 DAWKINS; 10 CHRISTIAN; 11 ORDER; 12 DISPOSE; 13 STENCIL; 14 ANGRY; 16 ALLOPATHY; 18 CAPSTONES; 20 RESOW; 22 LEBRERS; 24 THURBAN; 26 SMILE; 27 BUNTHORNE; 28 PAGEANT; 29 ACTING.

DOWN:—2 EARLS; 3 HISTORY; 4 RAISE CAIN; 5 DENIS; 6 WROTE UP; 7 INDICATES; 8 SHRILLY; 9 ACADIA; 15 GOPHERING; 17 LUSITANIA; 18 CALLS UP; 19 THERESA; 20 ROUGH IT; 21 WINNER; 23 SABOT; 25 BARON.

the terrorist activities of the rightist minority and to bring about a fair election which will help the country to settle its pressing political and economic problems.

As the old proverb goes, "Better late than never." C. G. COUVARAS

New York, December 11

Pertinent Poetry

Dear Sirs: In response to Miss Agnes Smedley's request, I am sending the poem Mr. Bertrand Shadwell wrote to satirize the hypocrisy of imperialism.

If you see an island shore
Which has not been grabbed before,
Lying in the track of trade, as islands should,
With the simple native quite
Unprepared to make a fight,
Oh, you just drop in and take it for his good.
Not for money, be it clearly understood,
But you row yourself to land,
With a Bible in your hand,
And you pray for him and rob him, for his good:
If he hollers, then you shoot him—for his good.
Or this lesson I can shape
To campaigning at the Cape,
Where the Boer is being hunted for his good;
He would welcome British rule
If he weren't a blooming fool;
Thus you see it's only for his good.
So they're burning houses for his good.
Making helpless women homeless for their good,
Leaving little children orphans for their good.
In India there are bloody sights
Blotting out the Hindu's rights
Where we've slaughtered many millions for their good,
And, with bullet and with brand,
Desolated all the land,
But you know we did it only for their good.
Yes, and still more far away,
Down in China, let us say,
Where the "Christian" robs the "heathen" for his good,
You may burn and you may shoot,
You may fill your sack with loot,
But be sure you do it only for his good.

Moral

If you dare commit a wrong
On the weak because you're strong
You may do it if you do it for his good!
You may rob him if you do it for his good;
You may kill him if you do it for his good.

ERIC HASS
Editor, *Weekly People*

New York, October 31